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The Treaty Of Greenville

—Wilson.

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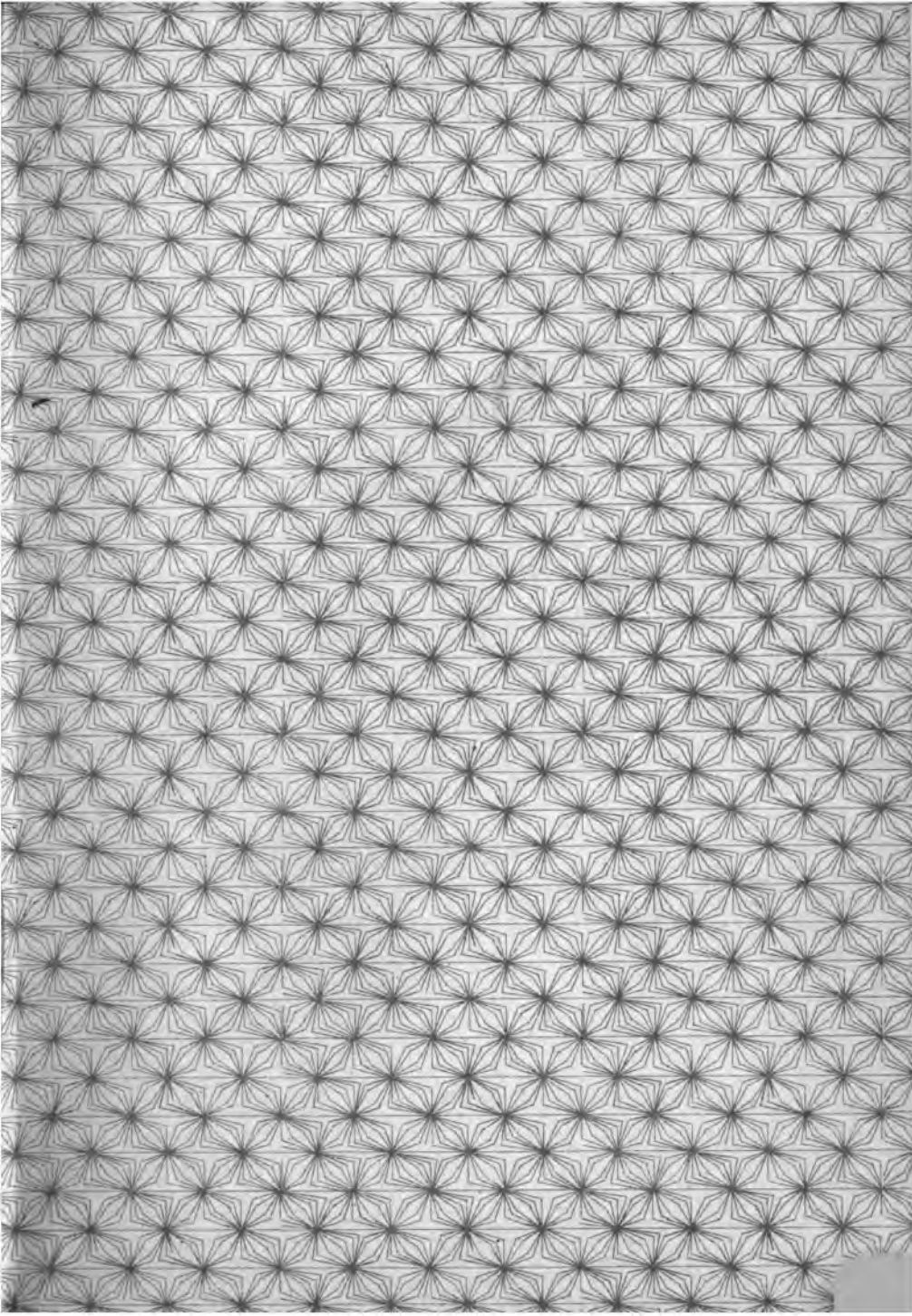

THE
Treaty of Greenville

BEING AN OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF THE SAME, TOGETHER WITH THE EXPEDITIONS OF

GEN. ARTHUR ST. CLAIR

— AND —

GEN. ANTHONY WAYNE

AGAINST THE NORTHWESTERN INDIAN TRIBES, AND AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE TERRITORY NORTHWEST OF THE OHIO RIVER, PREVIOUS THERETO

— BY —

FRAZER E. WILSON

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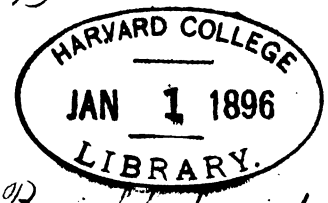

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PREFACE.

The approach of the Centennial Anniversary of the Treaty of Greenville, and the want of a convenient, authentic account of this important bit of local and national history, explain, in part, the appearance of this work. In order to give a clear and comprehensive idea of the significance of this event, a sketch of the previous history of the territory affected thereby is incorporated.

The quotations, except where noted, are from the American State Papers, Vol. I, of Indian Affairs.

I hope that the perusal of these pages will arouse a sufficient amount of interest and enthusiasm to secure a hearty celebration of the next anniversary of this event, and the erection of a suitable memorial on the site of its consummation.

THE AUTHOR.

GREENVILLE, OHIO, October, 1894.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I. . . THE OLD NORTHWEST

CHAPTER II. . ST. CLAIR'S EXPEDITION

CHAPTER III. . . WAYNE'S EXPEDITION

CHAPTER IV. THE TREATY OF GREENVILLE

I.

THE OLD NORTHWEST.

The territory which was the field of action for the expeditions of Harmar, St. Clair, and Wayne, is situated northwest of the Ohio River, east of the Mississippi, and south of the Great Lakes.

Nature has blessed it bountifully, and before the axe and plow of the white man changed its primeval appearance, a mighty forest, broken here and there by stretches of prairie and meadow, and watered by numerous streams, covered its vast expanse.

Here and there along the margins of the streams, the native Indian made settlements, and cultivated small open areas. Depending mainly on the chase for subsistence, he followed the trails of the forest, and when pressed by necessity or expediency, wandered from place to place and lived in rude huts or wigwams.

Besides his willful, independent, free and crafty nature, he possessed many seeming inconsistencies. Although haughty and reserved, he would beg a morsel from the traveler, or bedeck his body with shining trinkets and gaudy ochres.

To him the wind, the blizzard, and the fever were spirits which he tried to influence through the wild machinations of the medicine man.

Although many tribes composed one family, his independent spirit counteracted alliances, and the most powerful confederacies dissolved in a few years.

The display of power attracted his attention and was a cause of his wavering decision, and a factor in his various alliances. At seasons, when home from the chase, or preparing for war, he would make the forest resound with his dance and yell.

His government was very simple. The sachem was the civil and generally the hereditary head of the tribe. The chief, or warrior who led in battle, was, however, chosen for his prowess.

Within the territory under consideration dwelt part of two great families, the Algonquin, and the Iroquois.

The former spread from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and from Hudson Bay to the Carolinas. The following tribes, which will be mentioned further on, belonged to this family. The Delawares, who called themselves the parent tribe, dwelt along the river now bearing their name; the Shawanese were their neighbors; the Miamis dwelt along the Wabash river and its branches, and the Illinois, near the Mississippi.

In the early part of the seventeenth century the whole family numbered probably 250,000, but had commenced to deteriorate when the first European settlers landed on our shores. Disease, together with the arms, whisky and vices of the white man, played such havoc among them that they now number but a few thousand.

The Iroquois family occupied the peninsula between Lakes Huron, Erie and Ontario, and a portion of the region south of the latter two. One tribe, the Tuscaroras, dwelt further south but joined them later on.

The Five Nations dwelling south of Lake Ontario drove

their brothers, the Wyandots, from the peninsula above mentioned, and exterminated the Eries and Andastes living south of Lake Erie. They were fierce, eloquent, and powerful, and held in subjection the tribes as far as the Mississippi.

They claimed the ownership of the lands northwest of the Ohio, by right of conquest, and considered the Indians occupying them as tenants. The latter, however, valued them very highly as may be judged from the long wars which they waged for their retention. "In the days of their greatest triumphs their united cantons could not have mustered 4,000 warriors," and yet one of their number falling among some Algonquins, exclaimed, "must I, who have made the whole world tremble, now die by the hand of children?" (Parkman's Conspiracy of Pontiac). While these inhabitants of the forest dwelt almost unmolested save by their own kindred, England was planting a chain of colonies along the Atlantic coast, and France gaining a foothold on the St. Lawrence. In 1497 -98 the Cabots explored the Atlantic coast from Labrador to beyond Chesapeake Bay and took possession in the name of England. In 1607 the first permanent English settlement was planted at Jamestown, Virginia, and in 1620 the Puritan Pilgrims founded Plymouth, Massachusetts. Settlements were afterwards made from Maine to the Carolinas, and the hardy colonists built substantial habitations and subsisted mainly on the products of their own toil. They subdued the red man or drove him away, and gradually advanced the frontier westward.

France, however, was not idle all this time. In 1534 James Cartier discovered the St. Lawrence and reached the site of Montreal. In 1603 Champlain, the "Father of Canada," sailed down the St. Lawrence, and, desiring to

plant a colony to extend the Catholic Church and the domain of France, he returned in 1608 and planted a settlement on the rock of Quebec. From this place the missionaries, fired with a zeal to convert the savages, and the explorers, anxious to find new lands, penetrated to the Mississippi.

In 1615 Le Caron and Champlain discovered Lake Huron by ascending the Ottawa River and crossing over to Lake Nipissing. Lake Ontario was seen the same year. Lake Superior was probably discovered before 1629, Lake Michigan in 1634, and Lake Erie by 1640. The latter, however, was probably not navigated until Joliet and La Salle returned from Lake Superior. Detroit, the best site on the Lakes for the purposes of the French, was not occupied until 1701. This, together with the fact that the territory now comprising Ohio was the last explored by the French, is explained by the shortness of the route from Quebec up the Ottawa River, and the hostility of the Iroquois dwelling along the lower Lakes.

From the Lakes, the Jesuit missionaries crossed by easy portages to the head waters of the branches of the Mississippi and planted missions along their shores. Although it is said that they were not very successful in converting the savages in the true sense, yet they exercised an influence over them favorable to France, and many of the posts established by them were afterwards fortified and garrisoned, and commanded the entrances to the territories.

In 1663 the most remote route, that by way of Green Bay, the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, was discovered. Others were afterwards established as follows:

From Lake Michigan, by the Chicago and Illinois rivers; by the St. Joseph and Kankakee; and by the St.

Joseph and Wabash. From Lake Erie, by the Maumee and Wabash, and finally, at the outbreak of the French and Indian War, an attempt was made to hold the upper Ohio by forts on a branch of the Alleghany.

Important settlements were made at Kaskaskia, Ft. Chartres and Cahokia, in what is now Illinois; Vincennes and Ouiatenon on the Wabash, and at Detroit; and in 1682, La Salle took formal possession of the Mississippi.

Following in the wake of the missionaries came the fur traders. Pliant in disposition, they readily adopted the manners of the Indians, married their women, learned their dialects, and won their confidence. We can only measure the influence they exerted by noting the freedom with which they penetrated beyond the Mississippi, planted a chain of posts reaching several hundred miles beyond Lake Winnipeg, and spread their wares from the frozen North to the plains of the South.

They established forts at Frontenac, the east entrance to Lake Ontario, at Niagara, at Detroit, at Michilimackinac and at Sault St. Marie, the entrance to Lake Superior.

The English and Dutch also tried to plant posts on the upper Lakes, but were thwarted by the French bush-rangers. They carried on trade with the Indians to a limited extent, but dealt with them in a cold, repulsive manner, confiscating their lands and driving them further westward. However, they possessed a sturdiness and prowess that were finally to win respect and alliance. Steadily advancing the frontier line, they were climbing the eastern slope of the Alleghanies, which seemed a natural barrier between them and the Western Country. At the close of King George's War, in 1748, the question as to the boundaries of the French and English was still left open, the commissioners appointed to settle it having failed to

accomplish this purpose. In that year the first regular English settlement was made on western waters, an exploring party penetrated Kentucky and Tennessee, and the Ohio Company was organized to speculate in land, and traffic with the Indians.

Two years later this Company sent Christopher Gist down the northern shore of the Ohio as far as the falls, to make a careful examination of the country and observe the strength of the Indians. In the following year he explored the southern shore as far as the mouth of the Kanawha, and his reports stimulated the interest already manifested in this country.

The English claimed this territory by virtue of their early settlement of the Atlantic coast at a corresponding latitude; on their construction of the treaties of Ryswick, Utrecht, and Aix-La-Chapelle; and on the alleged cessions by the Indians. The French, on the other hand, claimed the same territory on account of the explorations of Marquette and La Salle, their occupation, and their opposite construction of the same treaties.

In 1749, the Governor of Canada sent Bienville to take formal possession of the Ohio valley, to conciliate the Indians, and to thwart the English. He went down the Ohio planting lead plates at the mouths of some of the principal tributaries. Returning by way of the Great Miami and Maumee he stopped at Pickawillany, about four miles above the present site of Piqua, where several hundred Miami Indians and their head chief lived. Some English traders had built a stockade here in 1740 and were carrying on quite a trade. They were also established near the mouth of the Scioto and were gaining the favor of the Indians.

In 1752 a Frenchman of Michilimackinac sent about

250 Chippewas and Ottawas to destroy Pickawillany. They surprised the place and killed fourteen Indians and one Englishman.

The time had come to fortify the forks of the Ohio, but this important step was delayed on account of the disputes of the governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia as to jurisdiction.

In 1753, while these disputes were still unsettled, Du Quesne, the Governor of Canada, sent a force to seize and hold the northern branches of the Ohio. Crossing over from Presque Isle, on Lake Erie, they cut a road to French Creek, a branch of the Alleghany, and built Ft. Le Boeuf. They also garrisoned a place at the old Indian town of Venango further down.

This was the signal for decisive action and Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, who claimed jurisdiction in this territory, sent George Washington on his famous expedition to the commander, St. Pierre, to remonstrate against the French occupation of the Ohio valley. Washington was courteously received, but informed that the movement had been made by instructions from the Governor General of Canada, and that the message would be referred to him, but the posts held in the meantime. In the following spring the English attempted to build a fort on the present site of Pittsburgh, but were driven off, and the place taken by the French, who built Fort DuQuesne. Thus began the French and Indian War.

The Indians, who had a natural love for war, and whose interests were at stake, soon allied themselves according to their inclinations. Those of the Northwest, with few exceptions, joined their fortunes with the French.

The war now assumed larger proportions, and England

sent Braddock over with a large army of regulars. The slaughter of the latter while moving toward Fort DuQuesne, encouraged many more Indians to join the cause of the French, and even some of the Iroquois wavered as they saw the English defeated time after time, but when the scales turned they resumed their old alliance.

During the course of the war the Miamis, Wyandots, Ottawas and other northern tribes which had adhered to the French, fortified Pickawillany where they were attacked by the Delawares, Shawanese and other tribes adhering to the English. After several days' siege the latter abandoned the attempt but the Miamis soon left this valley, where they claimed to have originated, and settled about the Maumee. They were followed by the Shawanese who occupied this site until driven further north by the whites.

During the first years of the conflict the French and their allies won victory after victory, but in 1758 the English gained the ascendency, taking Louisburg and Fort DuQuesne. In the following year Wolf stormed the Heights of Abraham, and took the citadel of Quebec, the backbone of Canada. This was the climax of the struggle on the continent that won for the Anglo-Saxon the supremacy in the New World, and deprived France of her American possessions. John Fiske wrote of it: "The triumph of Wolf marks the greatest turning point as yet discoverable in modern history," (American Political Ideas, p. 56.)

In 1760 the surrender of Montreal virtually ended the war in this country, but the conflict continued on the ocean for two or three years longer. A treaty of peace was signed at Paris in 1763 and nearly all the French possessions east of the Mississippi passed into the hands of the British.

In the meantime, however, the savages, fearing the encroachments of the English, the destruction of their fur trade, and the curtailment of their supplies of food and firearms, formed a confederacy under the leadership of Pontiac, an Ottawa chieftain, and planned the simultaneous capture and destruction of all their forts west of the Alleghanies. The plot against Detroit was revealed, but before the middle of the summer of 1763 all the posts except Niagara, Ft. Pitt, and Detroit had been taken. In the following spring Pontiac again laid seige to Detroit, and the attacks on the frontier were renewed.

Gen. Gage, in command of the British Colonial Army, sent Col. Bradstreet with a force of 1200 men against the Indians of the Lakes. Meeting representatives of several tribes which Sir Wm. Johnson, the British Indian Agent for the North, had induced to assemble at Niagara, he concluded treaties and proceeded to Presque Isle. At this place he met some Delawares and Shawanese with whom he concluded a peace on condition that they would meet him at Sandusky in 25 days and deliver up their prisoners. He then sent a message to Boquet, who had been sent with a large force against the latter tribes, to abandon his expedition. Proceeding to Sandusky, Bradstreet met some Ottawas, Wyandots, and Miamis who promised to meet him at Detroit.

At this latter place he afterwards met the Indians of the Northwest, who pledged themselves to relinquish their title to the British posts, to surrender prisoners, and to acknowledge the sovereignty of England. On returning to Sandusky he found that the Ohio Indians had deceived him, and still waged war on the borders, but, owing to the lateness of the season, and other circumstances, he returned to Niagara.

Col. Boquet was not deceived by the message from Bradstreet, but proceeded to Ft. Pitt, and thence to the Tuscarawas river, where he met in conference the Delawares, Shawanese, and Senecas, and by his decisive action caused them to deliver up a great number of prisoners, and to promise to meet Sir Wm. Johnson the following spring to treat for peace.

The army returned to Ft. Pitt, and the Indians kept their word.

After the Northwest passed into the possession of England a new policy was commenced. "No provision was made for the government of nine-tenths of the new territory acquired by the Treaty of Paris in 1763. The purpose was to reserve as crown lands the Northwest Territory, the region north of the great lakes, and the country between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi, and to exclude them from settlement by the American Colonists. They were left, for the time being, to the undisputed possession of the savage tribes." (Narrative and Critical History, VI, p. 687.) Peaceful relations with the Indians, the extension of the fur trade, and the safety of the Colonies were the reasons assigned for this policy.

The settlers now began to pour over the mountains, and irritate the Indians. Sir Wm. Johnson saw the necessity of conciliating the latter, and in 1768 a treaty was signed at Ft. Stanwix by which the whole country south of the Ohio and Alleghany, to which the Six Nations had any claim, was transferred to the British. This region was being explored but it was twenty years before the lines of emigration were directed north of the Ohio.

The following years witnessed the opening scenes of the Revolution in the East and attention was attracted in that direction. The West, however, was not wholly neg-

lected. Boone, Harrod, Logan and other pioneers built fortified stations near the upper Kentucky River and the romantic days of Kentucky dawned. The Indians were not disposed to allow this valuable piece of ground, where they had hunted the buffalo and met each other in many a bloody conflict, to be quietly taken from them; and when they saw the white emigrants floating down the Ohio they resolved to dispute their advance. Matters soon assumed such a serious turn that in 1774 Governor Dunmore of Virginia called out the militia but before the forces were united a division of about one thousand men was attacked by a similar number of Shawanese warriors under Cornstalk. After a severe battle the Indians retreated and, with few exceptions, soon sought peaee.

The devastations of the war in the east caused many to seek new homes south of the Ohio. However, they did not escape the influence of the British who sent out war parties from Detroit to harass them.

At that time Henry Hamilton was commandant at the above post, and as such, the military and civil head of the Northwest. He employed the notorious renegades Elliott, McKee, and Simon Girty who, it is said, sought commissions n the American army, were disappointed and went over to the enemy, and sent out several war parties against the borders.

To check these incursions Geo. R. Clarke was sent on a secret expedition against Kaskaskia, situated in territory claimed by Virginia by virtue of the charter of 1609. He succeeded in securing this place, and Cahokia and proceeded to subdue the neighboring Indians.

In the meantime Hamilton had arrived on the upper Wabash to influence the Indians. He had with him a small force of regulars and French, and about 400 Indians.

Proceeding down stream, he captured Vincennes, where he was besieged by Clarke and forced to surrender.

The whole country along the Mississippi and Wabash was now in possession of Virginia, but Detroit remained in the hands of the enemy.

"Hamilton had made arrangements to enlist the Southern and Western Indians for the next spring's campaign, and if Mr. Stone be correct in his suppositions, Brant and his Iroquois were to act in concert with him. Had Clarke, therefore, failed to conquer the governor, there is too much reason to fear that the West would have been, indeed, swept from the Mississippi to the mountains, and the great blow struck, which had been contemplated from the outset, by Britain.

"The conquest of Clarke changed the face of affairs in relation to the whole country north of the Ohio river, which in all probability would have been the boundary line between Canada and the U. S. The conquest was urged by the American Commissioners in negotiating the definite treaty of 1783." (Annals of the West, p. 295.) Especially does the significance of this statement appear when taken in connection with the fact that after England had obtained possession of Canada and the West she organized the province of Quebec, and in 1774 promulgated an act extending its borders to the Ohio and Mississippi, thus preparing to establish interior colonies dependent upon a government on the St. Lawrence instead of on the Atlantic coast. This deprived the colonies of their charter lands in the West, and was one of the causes of the Revolution.

In 1772 the Moravians, a peculiar religious sect, who had followed the Delaware Indians from Pennsylvania, built a place of worship in what is now Tuscarawas County, Ohio. They purchased small tracts of land from the

Indians and cultivated a portion of it. Later they were joined by more of their brethren, and four towns built in the same neighborhood. Many of the neighboring tribes were converted to their doctrines, but in 1781, on account of the danger incurred by their location, they were removed to the neighborhood of Sandusky by order of the commandant at Detroit. Their crops were left standing, a party returned to harvest them in the following spring, were there attacked by a band under Col. Williamson and 94 of their number murdered.

In the fall of 1778 Brig. Gen. McIntosh, of the Continental Army, built a fort 30 miles below Ft. Pitt. He proceeded with a force of 1000 men to attack Sandusky, but stopped upon reaching the Muskingum, where he built Ft. Laurens, and, leaving a garrison, returned to Ft. Pitt. Both of these posts were afterwards abandoned, leaving no American defences in the West except Ft. Pitt and and Kaskaskia.

In the summer of 1780 Col. Byrd of Detroit invaded Kentucky by way of the Miami and Licking rivers with six cannon, a small force of Canadians and a large band of Indians. They attacked and took a couple of stations but abandoned the expedition. Clarke soon raised a large force, crossed the Ohio, and marched up the Miami valley to chastise the Indians. He destroyed the old Indian town of Piqua on Mad river about twelve miles above the present site of Chillicothe, together with several other villages further up the river and some corn. This gave security to the Kentucky settlers for a short time but in the following year attacks were made along quite a line of stations and Col. Brodhead led an expedition up the Muskingum, capturing and killing a few Indians. Col. Lochry of Pennsylvania also led an expedition, but failing

to meet Clarke with his men at the mouth of the Kanawha, crossed over with a small force near the Miami where he was surprised, several of his men killed, and the rest made prisoners.

In 1781 Spain, jealous of the spread of Anglo-Saxon power, and fearing the safety of her Gulf Colonies, sent an expedition to seize the post of St. Joseph Having accomplished this, she took formal possession of the region commanded by it and the Illinois river. Strange as it may seem, France supported Spain, but this can be explained by saying that France assisted the Americans during the Revolution because of her hatred of England.

In 1782 Simon Girty was sent from Dertoit with Major Caldwell and a party of Indians and militia against Bryant's station near the upper Kentucky. Failing to take this place they were pursued by a force of Kentuckians whom they defeated. Aroused at this raid a thousand riflemen arose under the leadership of Clarke and desolated the Miami valley to a point beyond Pickawillany. This cooled the ardor of the savages who began to realize their danger and fall back to the interior. During the same year the frontiers of Pennsylvania and western Virginia were sorely harassed, but the close of the Revolution caused these incursions to abate.

After the struggle for liberty was over and Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the Colonies, she still retained possession of the various forts in the Northwest, contrary to the stipulations of the treaty of 1783. The reasons assigned were, that the United States had violated the 4th, 5th, and 6th articles of the same treaty, in allowing the debts owing British subjects, which had been contracted before the war, to remain unpaid; and in confiscating their estates. The Americans, however, con-

tended that they had done all that they had promised, viz; recommended to the States what was stipulated in the treaty, and that the reluctance of the States in complying was due to the difficulties encountered in changing their laws to conform to new conditions. Later developments indicated that these posts were held to retain the fur trade, and to influence the Indians against the Americans.

The French, who depended principally on the fur trade for a livelihood during their possession of the Northwest, purchased only small tracts from the natives, and at the Treaty of Paris, in 1763, transferred the small grants about the posts which they had established.

At the close of the Revolution, Great Britain, having acquired nothing more from the Indians north of the Ohio, transferred what she had received from France. Congress, however, looked at this matter in a different light and proceeded to grant peace to the Indians, and fix the boundaries without purchasing their lands which were regarded as forfeited on account of hostilities during the Revolution, and the British cession.

In 1784, the Iroquois, who had aided England during the war, and whose power had been broken by the expedition of Gen. Sullivan in 1779, met the commissioners of the United States at Ft. Stanwix, (Rome N. Y.) and ceded all their western lands.

At Ft. McIntosh, in 1785, a treaty was made with the Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa and Ottawa nations, by which the land in the southern part of what is now the state of Ohio was relinquished.

The next treaty of the United States was with the Shawanese at Fort Finney (Mouth of the Miami), in 1786. A very bad spirit was manifested at this treaty, and the Wabash Indians, whose presence was especially

desired, were probably influenced by the British, and absented themselves. The remoter Indians, however, did not cease their depredations and two expeditions were set on foot; one in command of Gen. Clarke, against the Indian towns of the Wabash; the other under Col. Logan against the Shawanese between the Great Miami and Scioto rivers. On account of the delay in the arrival of provisions, the discontent of the soldiers, and the desertion of a large body of the latter, Clarke's expedition was abandoned. Logan, however, succeeded in destroying several towns, a lot of corn, and in killing and capturing several Indians.

Finally at Ft. Harmar (on the Muskingum, opposite Marietta) two treaties of confirmation were made, one with the Six Nations, and the other with the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattomies, and Sacs.

"Thus then stood the relations of the Indians and the United States in 1789. Transfers of territory had been made by the Iroquois, the Wyandots, the Delawares, and the Shawanese, which were open to scarce any objection; but the Chippewas, Ottawas, Kickapoos, Weas, Piankeshaws, Pottawattomies, Eel River Indians, Kaskaskias, and above all the Miamis, were not bound by any existing agreement to yield the lands north of the Ohio.

"They wished the Ohio to be a perpetual boundary between the white and red men of the West, and would not sell a rod of the region north of it. So strong was this feeling that their young men, they said, could not be restrained from warfare upon the invading Long-Knives, and thence resulted the increasing attacks upon the frontier stations and the emigrants." (Annals of the West, pp. 525-526.)

During the course of the Revolution Congress offered

grants of land to volunteers in the American service, but Virginia, New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut claimed portions of the West by virtue of the old Colonial Charters, conquest, and purchases from the Indians.

After the war was over and interest was again awakened in the western country, Congress decided to open it for settlement, but was confronted by the conflicting claims of these States. The old Colonial charters, given when the extent of North America was unknown, extended the grants of land "from sea to sea." The Crown, however, claimed the country between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi after the French and Indian War, and the United States, after the Revolution, by virtue of conquest. The States that had no western claims desired that those of the others be ceded to the United States government for the general welfare.

A lengthy controversy ensued which threatened the stability of the confederation, but the whole matter was settled satisfactorily in 1786 when Connecticut followed the example of the other states interested and completed the cession of these western claims, except a tract between the 41st parallel and Lake Erie, reserved by Connecticut, and one between the Scioto and Little Miami rivers, reserved by Virginia for her soldiers.

In 1787, while the last Congress under the Articles of Confederation was in session, a petition was presented by Dr. Cutler in behalf of a company of New Englanders, organized to purchase lands and make a settlement north and west of the Ohio.

In the meantime the famous "Ordinance of 1787" was passed. It provided for the organization and government of the "Territory Northwest of the river Ohio." Among its provisions were the prohibition of slavery, the promo-

tion of education, morality, and religion, and the formation of not less than three nor more than five states, as conditions suggested.

The grant of land asked for was made to the New England Company, and soon afterwards John Cleves Symmes negotiated for the purchase of land between the Miamis. In the following year emigrants floated down the Ohio to the mouth of the Muskingum and founded Marietta, which became the capital of the new country.

Thus the initial step was taken and from this time a steady flow of emigration set in. In a few yearsGallipolis, Manchester, Columbia, and Fort Washington dotted the northern shore of the Ohio, and the soldiers of the Revo lution, whose fortunes had been lost in the struggle for liberty, found a new home.

Early in 1790, Arthur St. Clair, who had been appointed Governor, left Marietta to organize a government for the new territory. He went first to Ft. Washington, thence by trail to Vincennes, and thence to Kaskaskia. While all this was being accomplished the Indians, incensed at these invasions of their ancient domains and goaded on by the British agents, commenced to attack the frontier.

Along the Wabash River dwelt the Piankeshaws, Kickapoos, Weas, Miamis and Eel River Indians, who inhabited several villages, the most important of which were Ouiatenon, Quitepiconnae, Kikiapongai and Kekionggay.

Major Hamtramck, in charge of Vincennes, had sent a French trader to pacify these Indians. His efforts were not successful, and shortly after his return a party of traders from the upper Wabash reported that war parties from the north had joined the Indians along that river and had gone to attack the settlements.

When St. Clair heard of this he immediately left for Ft. Washington where he consulted Gen. Harmar, the commander of the United States Infantry, and decided to send an expedition against the Indians. He requested the militia of western Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky to co-operate with the federal forces, and addressed a message to the commandant at Detroit stating that the expedition about to be started was not intended against any British post, but aimed at the punishment of the Indians who had been harassing the frontiers; requesting him to restrain the latter and assuring him of the peaceful intent of the United States.

The plan of Harmar's campaign was as follows: 300 of the militia were to join Major Hamtramck at Ft. Knox (Vincennes), and proceed against the Wabash Indians; 700 were to rendezvous at Ft. Washington, and 500 below Wheeling, to join the regular army and proceed against the Maumee villages.

Major Harmar's command, when ready to move, was made up as follows: Three battalions of Kentucky militia under Col. Trotter, one battalion of Pennsylvania militia under Col. Trubley and Major Paul, and one battalion of mounted riflemen. Col. Hardin had the command of all the militia subject to the orders of Gen. Harmar. The whole force numbered 1453 men, but the ranks contained many boys and infirm men. They were very poorly armed and equipped, being almost destitute of axes, camp utensils, etc. Besides this, jealousy existed between the militia and regulars, and threatened trouble.

The army left Ft. Washington September 30th, and on October 14th, being near the Maumee, Hardin was sent forward with 600 militia and one company of regulars to surprise the enemy and keep them in their forts

until the artillery should arrive. Reaching the villages the following afternoon he found them deserted.

The main army arrived on the 17th, and by the 21st had destroyed the chief town, several other villages, and about twenty thousand bushels of corn.

However, no enemy was found, and Harmar thought of attacking some of the Wabash Indians, but abandoned this plan on account of a lack of horses, many of which had been stolen by the Indians. Col. Trotter, who had been sent to scour the woods in search of an enemy on the 18th, and had made an unsuccessful skirmish, was succeeded by Hardin. The latter was also defeated on the 19th, and when, on the 21st, the army began its homeward march, he prevailed upon Harmar to send back a detachment under the command of himself and Major Wyllys, to the site of the destroyed villages. Arriving at the Maumee near the forks a little after sunrise, spies discovered the enemy and plans were arranged to surround and surprise them. All went well until Col. Hall, who had gained the position assigned him undiscovered, fired at a single Indian and alarmed the enemy. The latter fled in different directions and were pursued by the militia, who, being dispersed, were defeated and returned to the camp.

Hardin again asked Harmar to send a detachment or take the entire force to the scene of the engagement, but the latter desisted, and on the following morning the army resumed its march for Ft. Washington. During the return the inharmonious feeling of the officers manifested itself, and this, coupled with the two defeats of Hardin and the tame conduct of Harmar, caused the expedition to be unpopular.

"The army, as a whole, effected all that the popular

expeditions of Clarke in 1782, and of Scott and Wilkinson in 1791 did: the annihilation of towns and corn, and was by Harmar and St. Clair considered very successful, but in reality, in the view of the Indians, it was an utter failure and defeat." (Annals of the West, p. 552).

The Government, seeing the inefficiency of its first attempt in dealing with the Indians, adopted stronger measures. It was decided to offer peace to the Western Indians; to organize expeditions in the West against the villages of the Miamis, Shawanese and Weas, should they refuse to make peace; and to send a large force to build forts and take possession of the enemy's land.

The British, who now seemed disposed to a peaceful settlement, urged Brant to use his influence in presenting the matter to the Five Nations, thinking that the United States would allow these tribes to retain their possessions along the Maumee. However, the agents and savages were puzzled at the threefold action of the United States, viz.: sending Proctor to sue for peace, Scott against the Wabash, and St. Clair to the Maumee. Distrust arose, and, on account of the time and difficulty of sending dispatches and receiving reports of the true condition of affairs, a misunderstanding followed.

Brant, whom the Government wished to employ in securing peace, was in the West, and, while held in suspension as to his intentions, it was learned that he was arousing the Miamis to war.

After Harmar's expedition, the settlements were again attacked and terror spread among the people south of the Ohio.

Delegates from several of the western counties of Virginia, which were exposed to the depredations of the Indians, presented the matter to the governor, and the

Legislature authorized him to make temporary provision for the protection of the frontier until the United States Government should take proper steps in the same direc tion. Chas. Scott was appointed brigadier general of the militia of Kentucky, then a part of Virginia, orders were given him to raise a volunteer force for its protection, and also to the commanders of the western counties, to enlist several companies of rangers.

Congress, seeing the necessity for prompt action, passed an act adding another regiment to the military department of the United States, and the President appointed Gov. St. Clair Commander in Chief of the Army of the Northwest, and authorized him to raise an army of 3,000 men, to be employed against the hostile Indians of that territory.

As a prompter step, Gen. Scott was ordered to raise a volunteer force of about 750 men, and to proceed against the Wea villages on the Wabash, near the present site of La Fayette. The expedition was delayed until May 23rd awaiting the return of Proctor, but, hearing nothing from him by that time, Gen. Scott crossed the Ohio at the mouth of the Kentucky with 800 mounted men, and on the 1st of June arrived at Ouiatenon.

"Many of the inhabitants of the village were French, and lived in a state of civilization. A large quantity of corn, a variety of household goods, peltry, and other articles were burned with this village, which consisted of about seventy houses, many of them well furnished."

Lieut. Col. Commandant Wilkinson was sent with a detachment of 360 on foot against Keth-tep-e-ca nunk (Tippecanoe), the most important village of that region, and succeeded in destroying it.

The army started south with several prisoners, and

reached the Ohio in twelve days with the loss of only two men who had been drowned. On the 1st of August an expedition was sent against the Indians of the Eel river. Col. Wilkinson was placed in command and left Ft. Washington with 525 mounted men. Great difficulty was encountered on the march on account of bogs which impeded the horses.

The village at the mouth of the Eel river was attacked, a few Indians killed and some captured. The army pushed on to Tippecanoe and destroyed the corn which had been planted since Scott's raid. Finding the horses worn out, provisions scarce, and soldiers complaining, Wilkinson abandoned his proposed march to Kickapoo town and proceeded to Ouiatenon where he destroyed several cornfields. After having marched 451 miles from Ft. Washington, the army reached the rapids of the Ohio on the 21st.

GENERAL ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

II.

ST. CLAIR'S EXPEDITION.

After the expeditions mentioned in the last chapter, the Indians against whom they had been sent became greatly exasperated and set about a desperate undertaking.

Little Turtle, chief of the Miamis, a warrior of intelligence and prowess, who led the attack against Harmar and who had great influence among the western tribes, together with Blue Jacket, the great chief of the Shawanese, and Buck-on-ge-he-las, chief of the Delawares, formed a confederacy of the northwestern savages to drive the white settlers beyond the Ohio.

These chiefs, with the assistance of Girty, McKee and Elliott, headed a band of warriors whose discipline has probably never been equaled in Indian warfare.

In the meantime preparations were being made by the U.S. Government for the final subjection of the northwestern tribes, and on March 21st, 1791, the following instructions to Gen. Arthur St. Clair were issued from the War Office:

"The President of the U. S. having, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appointed you a major general in the service of the U. S., and of consequence invested you with the chief command of the troops to be employed upon the frontiers during the ensuing campaign, it is proper that you should be possessed of the views of

the Government respecting the objects of your command. I am, therefore, authorized and commanded by the President of the U. S. to deliver you the following instructions, in order to serve as the general principles of your conduct.

"But it is only general principles which can be pointed out. In the execution of the duties of your station, circumstances which cannot now be foreseen may arise to render material deviations necessary. Such circumstances will require the exercise of your talents. The Government possesses the security of your character and mature experience that your judments will be proper on all occasions.

"You are well informed of the unfavorable impressions which the issue of the last expedition has made on the public mind, and you are also aware of the expectations which are formed of the success of the ensuing campaign.

"An Indian war under any circumstances is regarded by the great mass of people of the U. S. as an event which ought, if possible, to be avoided. It is considered that the sacrifices of blood and treasure in such a war far exceed any advantages which can possibly be reaped by it.

"The great policy, therefore, of the General Government is to establish a just and liberal peace with all the Indian tribes within the limits and in the vicinity of the territory of the U. S. * * * *

"If all the lenient measures taken, or which may be taken, should fail to bring the hostile Indians to a just sense of their situation, it will be necessary that you should use such coercive means as you shall possess, for that purpose.

"You are informed that, by an act of Congress, passed the 2nd instant, another regiment is to be raised, and added to the military establishment, and provision made for raising two thousand levies, for the term of six months, for the service of the frontiers. * * * * *"

Here follows instructions which were carried out in the expeditions of Scott and Wilkinson.

"While you are making such use of desultory operations as in your judgment the occasion may require, you will proceed vigorously, in every preparation in your power, for the purpose of the main expedition; and having assembled your force, and all things being in readiness, if no decisive indications of peace should have been produced, either by the messengers, or by the desultory operations, you will commence your march for the Miami village, in order to establish a strong and permanent military post at that place.

"In your advance you will establish such posts of communication with fort Washington, on the Ohio, as you may judge proper.

"The post at the Miami village is intended for the purpose of awing and curbing the Indians in that quarter, and as the only preventive of future hostilities. It ought, therefore, to be rendered secure against all attempts and insults of the Indians.

"The garrison which should be stationed there ought not only to be sufficent for the defence of the place, but always to afford a detachment of five or six hundred men, either to chastise any of the Wabash, or other hostile Indians, or to secure any convoy of provisions.

"The establishment of said post is considered as an important object of the campaign, and it is to take place in all events. In case of a previous treaty, the Indians are

to be conciliated upon this point, if possible; and it is presumed, good arguments may be offered to induce their acquiescence.

"The situation, nature and construction of the works you may direct, will depend upon your own judgment. Major Ferguson, of the artillery, will be fully capable of the executions.

"He will be furnished with three five-and-a-half-inch howitzers, three six-pounders, and three three-pounders, all brass, with a sufficient quantity of shot and shells for the purpose of the expedition. The appropriation of these pieces will depend upon your orders.

"Having commenced your march upon the main expedition, and the Indians continuing hostile, you will use every possible exertion to make them feel the effects of your superiority; and after having arrived at the Miami village, and put your work in a defensible state, you will seek the enemy with the whole of your remaining force, and endeavor, by all possible means, to strike them with great severity.

"It will be left to your discretion whether to employ, if attainable, any Indians of the Six Nations, and the Chickasaws or other Southern nations. * * * *

"The force contemplated for the garrison of the Miami village, and the communications, has been from a thousand to twelve hundred noncommissioned officers and privates. This is mentioned as a general idea, to which you will adhere, or from which you will deviate, as circumstances may require.

"The garrison stationed at the Miami village and its communications must have in store at least six months good salted meat, and flour in proportion.

"It is hardly possible, if the Indians continue

hostile, that you will be suffered quietly to establish a post at the Miami village; conflicts, therefore, may be expected, and it is to be presumed that disciplined valor will triumph over the undisciplined Indians. In this event it is probable that the Indians will sue for peace. If this should be the case, the dignity of the U. S. will require that the terms should be liberal.

"In order to avoid future wars, it might be proper to make the Wabash, and thence, over to the Miami, and down the same to its mouth at lake Erie, the boundary, excepting so far as the same should relate to the Wyandots and Delawares, on the supposition of their continuing faithful to the treaties. But if they should join in the war against the U. S., and your army be victorious, the said tribes ought to be removed without the boundary mentioned.

"You will also judge whether it would be proper to extend the boundary, from the mouth of the river au-Panse of the Wabash, in a due west line to the Mississippi. Few Indians, besides the Kickapoos, would be affected by such a line; this ought to be tenderly managed.

"The modification of the boundary must be confided to your discretion, with this single observation, that the policy and interest of the United States dictate their being at peace with the Indians. This is of more value than millions of uncultivated acres, the right to which may be conceded by some, and disputed by others.

"The establishment of a post at the Miami village will probably be regarded by the British officers on the frontiers as a circumstance of jealousy; it may, therefore, be necessary that you should at a proper time, make such intimations as may remove all such dispositions. This intimation had better follow than precede the pos-

session of the post, unless circumstances dictate otherwise. As it is not the inclination or interest of the U. S. to enter in a contest with Great Britain, every measure tending to a discussion or altercation must be prevented. The delicate situation of affairs may therefore make it improper at present to make any naval arrangements upon Lake Erie.

"After you shall have effected all the injury to the hostile Indians of which your force may be capable, and after having established the posts and garrison at the Miami village and its communications, and placing the same under the orders of an officer worthy of such a high trust, you will return to fort Washington, on the Ohio.

* * * * *

"You will please to appoint some skillful person to make actual surveys of your march, to be corrected, if the case will admit of it, by proper astronomical observations, and of all posts you may occupy, and transmit them to this office. * * * *

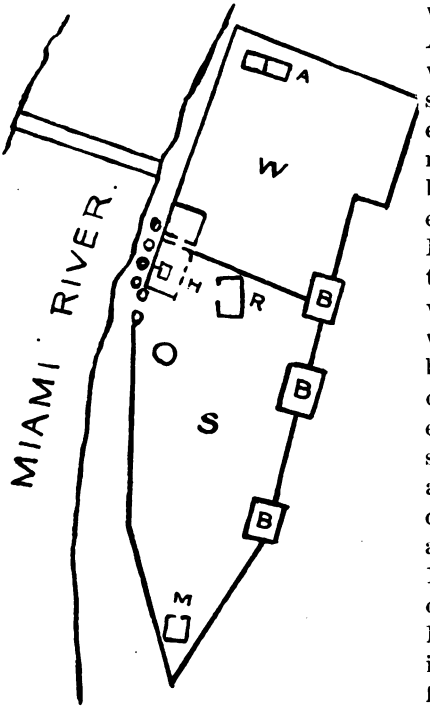
"Although it is expected that you will have assembled at fort Washington, by the tenth of July next a force of three thousand effectives, consisting of regular troops and levies, besides a sufficient number for the occupancy of the posts on the Ohio and Wabash, yet circumstances may possibly arise to prevent the expedition from being realized.

"In this event, the expedition must not languish.

"In order, therefore, to supply the numbers essential for the expedition, you must call forth, in the name of the President of the U. S., the militia of Pennsylvania, Virginia, or the district of Kentucky, for the purpose."

St. Clair proceeded to Pittsburgh where he arrived the latter part of April. This place had been selected as a

rendezvous for troops. The population of the West at this time was scattered in three or four groups; one in southwestern Pennsylvania of about 60,000 people; two in western Virginia, around Wheeling and the mouth of the Kanawha, of about 55,000; and one in Kentucky, below the Licking river, of about 70,000. It was hoped that the troops would be assembled by Aug. 1st, but there was much delay and it soon appeared that the expedition could not move before September. St. Clair proceeded to Ft. Washington May 15th, and awaited the assembling of the western troops which were but few in number and located at different posts. General Butler was placed second in command and obtained recruits during part of April and May. On July 15th the first regiment of 299 men arrived. Much delay was caused in the arrival of troops from Pittsburgh, and in the meantime, the idle recruits became intemperate and were removed to Ludlow's station, six miles from the fort.



FT. HAMILTON.

S. Built by St. Clair.
W. Addition.
B. Blockhouses.
H. Headquarters.
M. Magazine.
A. Artificers shop.
O. Well.

Here they remained until the 17th of September, when the army marched northward to the Great Miami, where a fort was built, garrisoned, and named Hamilton.

On the sixth of October St. Clair addressed the following communication to the Secretary of War from Ft. Washington:

"SIR:—I have now the satisfaction to inform you that the army moved from Ft. Hamilton, * * * on the 4th, at eight in the morning, under the command of General Butler. The order of march and encampment I had regulated before, and on the 3rd returned to this place to get up the militia; they marched yesterday, and consist of but about three hundred men. * * * *

"I have reason to believe, however, that at least an equal number will be up here by the 10th, and I have left orders for their following us. * * * *

"Our numbers, after deducting the garrisons of this place and fort Hamilton, are about two thousand, exclusive of the militia. I trust I shall find them sufficient, and should the rest of the militia come on, it will make the matter pretty certain; but the season is now so far advanced, that I fear the intermediate posts, which would indeed have been highly necessary, it will be impossible to establish. In that, however, I must be governed by circumstances, of which I will take care that you shall be apprised in due time. Should the enemy come to meet us, which seems to be expected, and be discomfited, intermediate posts become more essential. * * * *

"Gen. Butler informs me that no less than twenty-one went off the night the army moved from fort Hamilton. I am at this moment setting out for the army, which I hope to overtake to-morrow evening. * * * *"

On Nov. 1st St. Clair wrote to the Secretary of War as follows:

"Camp, eighty-one miles advanced of Fort Washington.

"SIR:—Since I had the honor to write to you on the 21st instant, nothing very material has happened; and, indeed, I am at present so unwell (and have been so for some time past) that I could ill detail it, if it had happened. Not that that space of time has been entirely barren of incidents, but, as few have been of the agreeable kind, I beg you to accept a sort of journal account of them, which will be the easiest for me.

"On the 22nd, the indisposition that had hung about me for some time, sometimes appearing as a bilious colic, and sometimes as a rheumatic asthma, to my great satisfaction, changed to a gout in the left arm and hand, leaving the breast and stomach perfectly relieved, and the cough, which had been excessive, entirely gone. This day Mr. Ellis, with sixty militia from Kentucky, joined the army, and brought up a quantity of flour and beef.

"23rd—Two men taken in the act of deserting to the enemy, and one for shooting another soldier and threatening to kill an officer, were hanged upon the grand parade, the whole army being drawn out. Since the army has halted, the country around this and ahead for fifteen miles, has been well examined; it is a country which, had we arrived a month sooner in it, and with three times the number of animals, they would have been all fat now.

"24th—Named the fort Jefferson, (it lies in lat. 40 degrees, 4 minutes, 22 seconds north,) and marched, the same Indian path serving to conduct us, about six miles, and encamped on good ground and an excellent position

—a rivulet in front and a very large prairie, which would at the proper season afford forage for a thousand horses, on the left. So ill this day that I had much difficulty in keeping with the army.

"25th—Very hard rains last night; obliged to halt to-day, on account of provision; for, though the soldiers may be kept pretty easy in camp, under the expectation of provisions arriving, they cannot bear to march in advance, and take none along with them. I received a letter from Mr. Hodgon by express: thirteen thousand pounds of flour will arrive on the 27th.

"26th—A party of militia, sent to reconnoitre, fell in with five Indians, and suffered them to slip through their fingers; in their camp, articles to the value of twenty-five dollars were found and divided. The Virginia battalion is melting down very fast, notwithstanding the promises of the men to the officers; thirteen have been discharged by Colonel Darke to-day.

"27th—Gave order for enlisting the levies, with the condition of serving out their time in their present corps. Piomingo arrived in camp with his warriors; I was so unwell I could only see him and bid him welcome, but entered on no business; considerable dissatisfaction among the levies about their enlistments.

"28th—Some clothing sent for to Fort Washington for the recruits, arrived; was begun to be distributed, and will have a good effect; but the enlisting the levies does not meet with the encouragement that might have been expected. It is not openly complained of by the officers, but it is certainly, privately, by some of high rank, and the measure of tempting them with warm clothing condemned. Mr. Hodgon writes me that he is sending forward a quantity of woolen overalls and socks,

by General Butler's orders. I have ordered them to be deposited at fort Jefferson. Some few Indians about us, probably those the militia fell in with a day or two ago. Two of the levies were fired upon about three miles off; one killed, two of the militia likewise, one of them got in, the other missing, supposed to be taken.

"29th—Piomingo and his people accompanied by Captain Sparks and four good riflemen, gone on a scout; they do not propose to return under ten days, unless they sooner succeed in taking prisoners and scalps.

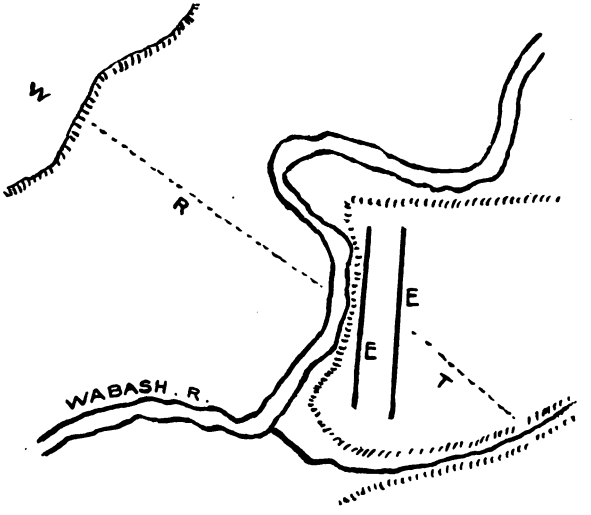
"30th—The army moved about nine o'clock, and, with much difficulty, made seven miles, having left a considerable part of the tents by the way; the provisions made by the quarter-master for that purpose were not adequate; three days' flour issued to the men, to add the horses that carried it to his arrangements; the Indian road is still with us, the course this day north 25 degrees west.

"31st—This morning about sixty of the militia deserted; it was at first reported that one-half of them had gone off, and that their design was to plunder the convoys which were upon the roads; detached the first regiment in pursuit of them, with orders to Major Hamtramck to send a sufficient guard back with Benham, whenever he met with him, and follow them about twenty-five miles below fort Jefferson, or until he met the second convoy, and then return and join the army.

"Benham arrived last night, and to-day, November 1st, the army is halted to give the road cutters an opportunity of getting some distance ahead, and that I might write to you. I am this day considerably recovered, and hope that it will turn out what I at first expected it would be, a friendly fit of the gout come to relieve me from every other complaint."

On the 9th of November, St. Clair addressed the following communication, which explains itself, to the Secretary of War:

"Yesterday afternoon, the remains of the army under my command got back to this place; and I have now the painful task to give you an account of as warm and unfortunate an action as almost any that has been fought, in which every corps was engaged and worsted, except the first regiment. That had been detached upon a service I had the honor to inform you of in my last dispatch, and had not joined me.



ST. CLAIR'S BATTLE GROUND.

W. Place where militia encamped
R. Line of their retreat.
E., E. Position of the regulars.
T. Road.

"On the 3rd instant, the army had reached a creek about twelve yards wide, running to the southward of

west, which I believe to have been the river St. Mary, that empties itself into the Miami of the lake at Miami village, about four o'clock in the afternoon, having marched near nine miles, and were immediately encamped upon a very commanding piece of ground, in two lines, having the above mentioned creek in front. The right wing, composed of Butler's, Clarke, and Paterson's battalions, commanded by Mayor General Butler, formed the first line, and the left wing, consisting of Bedinger and Gaither's battalions, and the second regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Darke, formed the second line, with an interval between them of about seventy yards, which was all the ground would allow. The right flank was pretty well secured by the creek; a steep bank, and Faulkner's corps, some of the cavalry, and their picquets, covered the left flank.

"The militia were thrown over the creek, and advanced about one quarter of a mile, and encamped in the same order. There were a few Indians who appeared on the opposite side of the creek, but fled with the utmost precipitation, on the advance of the militia. At this place, which I judged to be about fifteen miles from the Miami village, I had determined to throw up a slight work, the plan of which was concerted that evening with Major Ferguson, wherein to have deposited the men's knapsacks, and every thing else that was not of absolute necessity, and to have moved on to attack the enemy as soon as the first regiment was come up. But they did not permit me to execute either; for, on the fourth, about half an hour before sunrise, and when the men had been just dismissed from the parade, (for it was a constant practice to have them all under arms a considerable time before day light) an attack was made upon the militia.

Those gave way in a very little time, and rushed into camp through Major Butler's battalion, which together with part of Clarke's, they threw into considerable disorder, and which, notwithstanding the exertion of both those officers, was never altogether remedied, the Indians following close at their heels. The fire however, of the front line, checked them, but almost instantly a very heavy attack began upon that line, and in a few moments it was extended to the second likewise. The great weight of it was directed against the center of each, where the artillery was placed, and from which the men were repeatedly driven with great slaughter. Finding no great effect from our fire, and confusion beginning to spread, from the great number of men who were falling in all quarters, it became necessary to try what could be done by the bayonet. Lieutenant Colonel Darke was accordingly ordered to make a charge with part of the second line and to turn the left flank of the enemy. This was executed with great spirit. The Indians instantly gave way, and were driven back three or four hundred yards; but for want of a sufficient number of riflemen to pursue this advantage, they soon returned, the troops were obliged to give back in their turn. At this moment they had entered our camp by the left flank, having pushed back the troops that were posted there. Another charge was made here by the second regiment, Butler's and Clarke's battalions, with equal effect and it was repeated several times, and always with success; but in all of them, many men were lost, and particularly the officers, which, with so raw troops was a loss altogether irremediable. In that I just spoke of, made by the second regiment and Butler's battalion, Major Butler was dangerously wounded and every officer of the second regiment fell except three, one of

which, Mr. Greaton was shot through the body. Our artillery being now silenced, and all the officers killed except Captain Ford, who was very badly wounded, and more than half the army fallen, being cut off from the road, it became necessary to attempt the regaining it, and to make a retreat, if possible. To this purpose, the remains of the army was formed as well as circumstances would admit, towards the right of the encampment, from which, by the way of the second line, another charge was made upon the enemy as if with the design to turn their right flank, but in fact, to gain the road. This was effected, and as soon as it was open the militia took along it, followed by the troops; Major Clarke, with his battalion, covering the rear. The retreat in those circumstances was, you may be sure, a very precipitate one. It was, in fact, a flight. The camp and the artillery were abandoned; but that was unavoidable for not a horse was left alive to have drawn it off, had it otherwise been practicable. But the most disgraceful part of the business is, that the greatest part of the men threw away their arms and accoutrements, even after the pursuit, which continued about four miles, had ceased. I found the road strewed with them for many miles, but was not able to remedy it, for having had all my horses killed, and being mounted upon one that could not be pricked out of a walk, I could not get forward myself and the orders I sent forward, either to halt the front or to prevent the men from parting with their arms, were unattended to. The rout continued quite to fort Jefferson, twenty-nine miles, which was reached a little after sunsetting. The action began about half an hour before sunrise, and the retreat was attempted at half an hour after nine o'clock. I have not yet been able to get returns of

the killed and wounded; but Major General Butler, Lieutenant Colonel Oldham of the militia, Major Ferguson, Major Heart, and Major Clarke, are among the former; Colonel Sargent, my Adjutant General, Lieutenant Colonel Darke, Lieutenant Colonel Gibson, Major Butler, and the Viscount Malartie, who served me as an aid-de-camp, are among the latter, and a great number of captains and subalterns in both.

"I have now, sir, finished my melancholy tale, a tale that will be felt sensibly by every one that has sympathy for private distress, or for public misfortune. I have nothing, sir, to lay to the charge of the troops, but their want of discipline, which from the short time they had been in service, it was impossible they should have acquired, and which rendered it very difficult when they were thrown into confusion, to reduce them again to order, and is one reason why the loss has fallen so heavy upon the officers, who did everything in their part to effect it. Neither were my own exertions wanting; but, worn down with illness, and suffering under a painful disease, unable either to mount or dismount a horse without assistance, they were not so great as they otherwise would, and perhaps ought to have been. We were overpowered by numbers; but it is no more than justice to observe, that, though composed of so many different species of troops, the utmost harmony prevailed through the whole army during the campaign.

"At fort Jefferson, I found the first regiment, which had returned from the service they had been sent upon without either overtaking the deserters, or meeting the convoy of provisions. I am not certain, sir, whether I ought to consider the absence of this regiment from the field of action, as fortunate or otherwise. I incline to

think it was fortunate, for I very much doubt whether, had it been in the action, the fortune of the day had been turned; and if it had not, the triumph of the enemy would have been more complete, and the country would have been destitute of every means of defence.

"Taking a view of the situation of our broken troops at fort Jefferson, and that there was no provision in the fort, I called upon the field officers, viz: Lieutenant Colonel Darke, Major Hamtramck, Major Zeigler and Major Gaither, together with the Adjutant General, for their advice what would be proper further to be done; and it was their unanimous opinion that the addition of the first regiment, unbroken as it was, did not put the army on so respectable a foot as it was in the morning, because a great part of it was now unarmed; that it had been then found unequal to the enemy, and should they come on, which was probable, would be found so again. That the troops could not be thrown into the fort, both because it was too small, and that there were no provisions in it. That provisions were known to be upon the road, at the distance of one, or at most two marches; that, therefore, it would be proper to move, without loss of time, to meet the provisions, when the men might have the sooner an opportunity of some refreshment, and that a proper detachment might be sent back with it, to have it safely deposited in the fort. This advice was accepted, and the army was put in motion again at ten o'clock, and marched all night, and the succeeding day met with a quantity of flour. Part of it was distributed immediately, part taken back to supply the army on the march to fort Hamilton, and the remainder, about fifty horse loads, sent forward to fort Jefferson. The next day, a drove of cattle was met with for the same place, and I have informa-

tion that both got in. The wounded who had been left at that place, were ordered to be brought here by the return horses.

"I have said sir, in a former part of this letter, that we were overpowered by numbers. Of that, however, I have no other evidence but the weight of the fire, which was

LITTLE TURTLE.

always a most deadly one, and generally delivered from the ground, few of the enemy showing themselves a foot except when they were charged; and that, in a few min-

utes, our whole camp, which extended above three hundred and fifty yards in length, was entirely surrounded and attacked on all quarters.

"The loss, sir, the public has sustained by the fall of so many officers, particularly General Butler and Major Ferguson, cannot be too much regretted; but it is a circumstance that will alleviate the misfortune in some measure, that all of them fell most gallantly doing their duty. * * * *

"In this engagement thirty-nine officers were killed, and twenty-two wounded, and the entire loss was estimated at 677 killed, including thirty women, and 271 wounded." The loss of the Indians was about 150 killed and several wounded. After pursuing the army a few miles they returned and plundered the camp obtaining the epuipments, cannon, baggage and several hundred horses.

This was one of the greatest defeats ever suffered by United States troops at the hands of the red men, both on account of the number killed and the effect on the frontier. To the leadership of Little Turtle is assigned the behavior of the savages. Stone, however, in his "Life of Brant" would make it appear that this warrior was present with a number of his tribe and led the attack. The number of Indians engaged is also variously estimated but it is said to have been current among them that about seven hundred only took part.

Various causes were assigned for the failure of this campaign; the lateness of the season, the poor equipment of the army, the lack of discipline among the soldiers, and the ill feeling existing between Butler and St. Clair being the principal ones.

The new Government was experimenting in Indian warfare and had much to learn.

A long line of frontier was now exposed to the mercy of the exultant savages, and St. Clair everywhere condemned for his conduct. Even President Washington was angered when he received the news, as the following extracts from an anecdote derived from his private secretary, Col. Lear, by Richard Rush, of Philadelphia, will indicate. The President received the dispatch while eating dinner, but continued his meal and acted as usual until all the company had gone and his wife had left the room, leaving no one but himself and Col. Lear. He now commenced to walk back and forth in silence and after some moments sat down on a sofa. His manner now showed emotion and he exclaimed suddenly: "St. Clair's defeated—routed; the officers nearly all killed, the men by wholesale, the rout complete! too shocking to think of—and a surprise in the bargain." Pausing again, rising from the sofa, and walking back and forth he stopped short and again broke out with great vehemence. "Yes! here on this very spot I took leave of him;' I wished him success and honor. 'You have your instructions,' I said, 'from the Secretary of War; I had a strict eye to them, and will add but one word, beware of a surprise! you know how the Indians fight us.' He went off with that as my last solemn warning thrown into his ears. And yet, to suffer that army to be cut to pieces —hacked by a surprise, the very thing I guarded him against! * * *"

The President again sat down on the sofa and his anger subsided. At length he said: "This must not go beyond this room." After a while he again spoke in a lowered tone. "General St. Clair shall have justice. I looked hastily through the dispatches—saw the whole disaster, but not all the particulars. I will hear him

without prejudice, he shall have full justice." (This anecdote however is refuted.) A committee of the house of representatives investigated the causes of St. Clair's defeat and acquitted him with honor.

President Washington denied his request for an investigation by a court of inquiry on the ground that there were not enough officers in the army of the requisite rank to form a legal court for that purpose. He also refused, though with reluctance, to allow him to retain his commission until some kind of an investigation could be had, because there could be but one Major General at a time, and the crisis demanded the immediate appointment of his successor. It is said, however, that St. Clair retained the confidence of Washington to the last.

He was a native of Scotland, emigrated to North America in 1755, having joined the Sixtieth British Regiment. He served under Gen. Amherst at Louisburg in 1758 and carried a standard at Quebec in 1759. After the close of the French and Indian War he settled in western Pennsylvania, where he resided until the outbreak of the Revolution. He espoused the cause of the Colonies and was commissioned a colonel of militia in 1775. Early in 1776 he joined Gen. Sullivan and by his counsel saved the army after the defeat at Three Rivers. He rose to the rank of Major General in 1777. He rendered service at Trenton, Princeton and Hubbardstown, but, being driven from Ticonderoga and Mt. Independence in 1778, was courtmartialed and exonerated, and continued in the service until the peace. In 1786 he was elected President of Congress, and later served as before noted. He died at Greensburg, Penn., August, 1818.

GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE.

III.

WAYNE'S EXPEDITION.

The defeat of St. Clair caused great alarm along the frontier, but the Indians did not seem immediately disposed to make a united stand, although many predatory bands attacked the settlers. Early in the following year the U. S. Government took measures and made overtures to procure peace with them.

The chiefs of the Five Nations were invited to Philadelphia for the purpose of attaching them to, and convincing them of, the justice and humanity of the U. S.; and also, to influence them to repair to the hostile tribes, in order to use their efforts to bring about peace. A deputation of fifty arrived early in March and were addressed by President Washington and Commissioner Colonel Pickering, but did not set out for the hostile Indians until September. Capt. Alex. Truman, of the 1st U. S. Regiment, was sent with a message to the Miami village, by the way of Fort Washington. Captain Hendrick, of the Stockbridge Indians, was instructed to repair to the great Indian council to be held on the Maumee.

Brig. Gen. Rufus Putnam was also sent on a similar mission, and given special authority. He was given copies of the treaties of forts Stanwix, McIntosh, Finney and Harmar, and instructed to convince the Indians that the

U. S. desired peace; renounced all claim to Indian land not ceded by fair treaties; conceived the treaty of Fort Harmar made with the proper tribes in good faith; required the safety of the frontiers; and assured protection, justice, humanity and liberality; also, that this was not done because of St. Clair's defeat, or any fear of the issue of war.

Captain Joseph Brant, an educated and intelligent chief of the Mohawks, was also invited to Philadelphia to receive assurance of the humane disposition of the President, and to exert his influence in behalf of peace at the coming council. Captain Peter Pond and William Steedman were sent as secret spies.

Among other things, the latter were instructed to repair to Niagara and Detroit; assume the character of Indian traders; mingle with the Miami and Wabash Indians; find their views and intentions; insinuate the humane disposition of the United States; and if circumstances justified, declare the readiness of the Government to receive the Indians with open arms regardless of the past.

These spies, however, could get no further than Niagara. Truman was murdered; Brant did not arrive at the Au Glaize until after the council had broken up; and Hendricks delivered the message, belt and map with which he had been intrusted, to McKee, and did not repair to the council. Putnam however proceeded to Ft. Washington, where he arrived July 2nd. General Wilkinson, who had been placed in charge of this post after St. Clair's defeat, was absent at Fort Jefferson, and, on his return, reported that a party of about 100 Indians had made an attack upon a body of men near the above place, and that 16 were killed and missing. News of the murder of four other whites also arrived, and seeing the necessity of tak-

ing prompt action, Putnam proceeded, on the 17th of August, to Post Vincent on the Wabash, where the chiefs had expressed a willingness to come and treat for peace.

He was accompanied by Heckenwelder, the missionary, and took along several Indian prisoners and presents to be given them.

A treaty was concluded with the Wabash and Illinois tribes on the 27th of September, in which they placed themselves under the protection of the United States; agreed to surrender their prisoners; promised to commit no further hostilities or depredations; and received the guarantee that all the lands to which they held a just claim, should remain in their possession. This treaty, however, was not confirmed by the Senate, because of this last article.

In October a great Indian council was held at the junction of the Au Glaize and the Maumee. It was attended by the chiefs of all the northwestern tribes, about fifty chiefs of the Six Nations, besides many from remoter tribes. The chiefs of the Shawanese were the only speakers for war, and Red Jacket, the Seneca chief, for peace.

The latter urged the unity of the Indian tribes, the desirability of friendly relations with the whites, and of retaining their lands. The former then requested an explanation of the instructions of Congress, which was given to their satisfaction. The Six Nations replied that the Indians had sold all their land east of the Ohio to the British; that they assisted the latter in the Revolutionary War, at the termination of which the States took possession of all the land the English formerly took from the French. They also said that they came with the voice of the U. S., and the advice of the King, and that

the latter advised them to remain confederated and independent. The Shawanese then related the action of the U. S. in sending out an expedition with instructions to proceed as far as the Miami town, and, thence to Detroit. They also stated that this army had fallen into their hands; that messengers of peace who fell by the way had been sent by these bloody roads; and that consequently the voice of peace must pass through the Six Nations.

They consented to treat with Gen. Washington early in the following spring and lay aside the tomakawk until they should hear from him through the Six Nations. The latter prepared and forwarded a report of these proceedings to the President and urged him to send suitable men to the coming council, and forward a message to the western Indians without delay.

The armistice agreed upon was not kept, for on the 6th of November a party of Indians attacked a body of Kentucky mounted infantry, under command of Major Jno. Adair. The engagement took place about 20 miles south of Ft. Jefferson near the present site of Eaton, Ohio, in sight of Fort St. Clair, a post recently established to assist in the transportation of forage and supplies to the advanced post. Six men were killed, five wounded, and a number of pack-horses taken. About the same number of the enemy fell.

The United States, however, complied with the request of the Indians, and sent Benj. Lincoln, Beverly Randolph, and Timothy Pickering to meet the hostile tribes at the Maumee rapids, early the next spring. "They were also instructed that the Government considered the Six Nations, who claimed the lands by virtue of former conquest, lying between the Ohio and Lake Erie, which were ceded and confirmed to the United States by the treaty of Fort

Harmar, in 1789, with the said Six Nations, together with the Wyandots and Delawares, and Ottawas, and other western Indians, who were actual occupants of the lands, as the proper owners thereof; that they had a right to convey the said lands to the United States; and that they did accordingly make the said conveyance, with their free consent and full understanding." They were also instructed to insist upon the boundary established at Fort Harmar; relinquish certain trading posts northward of the same, or any military posts, which should appear to be established without the same; guarantee the right of soil to all the remaining lands in that region; and pay to the several tribes, proportionately, the sum of fifty thousand dollars, besides ten thousand dollars annually.

Proceeding to Niagara, the commissioners were detained until the 28th of June, when they embarked for the Detroit river, to await the meeting of the Indians at Sandusky. They were detained at Fort Erie by contrary winds, and on the 5th of July, Colonel Butler, a British Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and Captain Brant, with about fifty Indians arrived from the Maumee, being deputised by the Indian Nations assembled at the rapids to confer with the commissioners of the U. S. in presence of the Governor of Upper Canada. Brant explained that the Indians had not assembled at the time and place appointed because of distrust of the warlike movements of the U. S., and asked an explanation of the same. He also inquired if the commissioners were properly authorized to establish a new boundary line between the U. S. and the Indians. The commissioners replied, that all hostilities had been forbidden until the result of the proposed treaty at Sandusky should be known; that peace was desired; and that

they were authorized to establish boundary lines. They also assured them that as soon as their council at that place was ended, they would send a messenger to the President, asking him to renew and repeat his orders to the military commanders concerning the postponement of hostilities. On the next day Brant replied to these explanations, assuring the commissioners that there was a prospect of agreement; that the minds of the western Indians were one; and that they had not been spoken to unitedly before. Offering to accompany them to the council, they accepted.

To understand more fully the fears of the Indians at this time it is necessary to notice the military movements of the U. S. Government. Upon the withdrawal of St. Clair after his defeat, the President recommended Gen. Anthony Wayne to succeed him, and Congress confirmed the selection. The appointment caused some disgust, but was made after due deliberation. Gov. Lee of Virginia, Generals Morgan and Scott, and Col. Darke, all seem to have figured as possible appointees, but after some deliberation "Mad Anthony" Wayne was selected. His appointment was unpopular in Virginia, but Washington, in answer to an objection raised against him replied: "General Wayne has many good points as an officer, and it is to be hoped that time, reflection, good advice, and above all a due sense of the importance of the trust which is committed to him, will correct his foibles, or cast a shade over them."

Wayne was born in Easttown, Penn., Jan. 1, 1745. At the outbreak of the Revolution he raised the 4th Regiment of Pennsylvania troops and was commissioned a colonel. In Feb., 1777, he was made a brigadier-general. He served at Three Rivers,

Brandywine, Germantown, Valley Forge, Green Springs and Yorktown. His most popular service, however, was at Stony Point, a rocky promontory on the Hudson commanding an important crossing place. He surprised this place on the night of July 15th, 1779, and forced his way into the fort by a bayonet charge.

Congress voted him a gold medal, and the Assembly of Pennsylvania also honored him for his conduct at this place. He was brevetted major-general in Oct., 1783, and retired to private life. Removing to Georgia, he was elected to Congress and after serving about five months, his seat was contested and declared vacant. He refused to be a candidate for re-election and was given the appointment before mentioned.

On the 26th of December, 1791. the Secretary of War submitted a statement, relative to the condition of the northwestern frontiers, setting forth the feeling of the Indians since St. Clair's defeat, and the desirability of increasing the military force of the U. S. to such proportions as to awe the hostile tribes that they might listen to dictates of peace upon the reasonable terms offered them.

To effect this the military establishment was to consist of 5,168 non-commissioned officers, privates, and musicians, organized into one squadron of cavalry, of four troops, each of 76 non-commissioned officers and privates; one battalion of artillery, organized on the same plan; and five regiments of infantry, one to be composed entirely of riflemen, each of three battalions, as above. Beside these, provision was made to engage mounted militia and scouts.

Wayne left for Pittsburgh in June, 1792, and during the summer organized and the army. In the winter the forces were collected about twenty-two miles south of

Pittsburgh, at Legionville so called because the army had been organized as a legion in order to meet the requirements of the coming campaign. Here the recruits were drilled and disciplined. Descending the Ohio in April 1793, the infantry and artillery encamped near Fort Washington.

The cavalry, composed of four companies, sorrels, grays, bays and chestnuts, camped south of the river where they practised, through the summer, to meet the red man in an appropriate manner.

From this place a road was cut to about six miles beyond Fort Jefferson; the intermediate forts supplied with large quantities of provisions; and herds of horses and cattle gathered beyond the advanced post under the protection of troops.

These movements were closely watched by the Indians assembled on the Maumee, and on the 10th of July the commissioners engaged to make peace sent a letter to the Secretary of War to suspend the military operations until after the council.

The commissioners then proceeded to the mouth of the Detroit river where they arrived on the 21st of July. From this place they communicated with the Indians in council on the Maumee, who, after much negotiation, still insisted upon the Ohio river as their eastern boundary. On the 16th of August the commissioners made their final reply, refusing to accede to the terms of the Indians, thus ending the negotiation.

Returning to Erie, they addressed a letter to Gen. Wayne on the 23rd, to be delivered by way of Pittsburgh with all possible dispatch.

Upon receiving information of the result of the council, the General made preparation for his expedition and

on the 5th of October addressed a letter to the Secretary of War, from his headquarters near Ft. Washington, stating that he had used every means in his power to bring forward the mounted volunteers from Kentucky, but with little success; that a great number of officers and men were debilitated from sickness; that the effective force would be reduced so that after leaving the necessary garrisons at the several posts, he should not be able to advance beyond Fort Jefferson with more than twenty-six hundred effective regulars; and that the auxiliary forces numbered only 36 guides and spies, and 360 mounted militia. He also stated that he would advance on the next day with this force, "in order to gain a strong position about six miles in front of Fort Jefferson, so as to keep the enemy in check until some favorable circumstance or opportunity should present to strike with effect."

"The present apparent tranquility on the frontiers and at the head of the line is a convincing proof to me that the enemy are collected or collecting in force to oppose the legion, either on its march, or in some unfavorable position for the cavalry to act in. Disappoint them in this favorite plan or maneuvre, they may probably be tempted to attack our lines. In this case I trust they will not have much reason to triumph from the encounter. * * *

"Unless more powerfully supported than I at present have reason to expect, I will content myself by taking a strong position advanced of Fort Jefferson and by exerting every power, endeavor to protect the frontiers, and to secure the posts and army during the winter, or until I am honored with your further orders."

Taking up the line of march on the 7th, the army arrived without an accident, near the present site of Green-

ville, Ohio, on the 13th, and went into camp. From this place Wayne wrote:

"The safety of the western frontiers, the reputation of the legion, the dignity and interest of the nation, all forbid a retrograde maneuvre, or giving up one inch of ground we now possess, until the enemy are compelled to sue for peace.

"The greatest difficulty which at present presents, is that of furnishing a sufficient escort to secure our convoys of provision, and other supplies, from insult and disaster; and at the same time, to retain a sufficient force in camp to sustain and repel the attacks of the enemy, who appear to be desperate and determined.

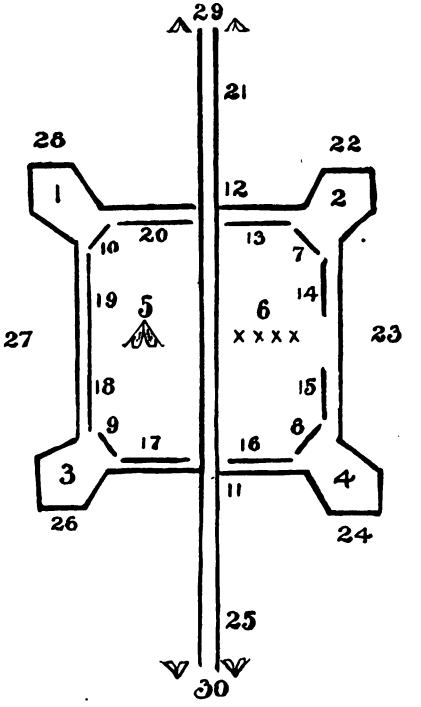
"We have recently experienced a little check to one of our convoys. * * * * *

"Lieutenant Lowery, of the 2nd sub-legion, and Ensign Boyd, of the 1st, with a command consisting of ninety non-commissioned officers and privates, having in charge twenty wagons, belonging to the quartermaster general's department, loaded with grain, and one of the contractor's, loaded with stores, were attacked early in the morning of the 17th instant, about seven miles advanced of Fort St. Clair, by a party of Indians; those two gallant young gentlemen, * * * together with thirteen non-commissioned officers and privates, bravely fell, after an obstinate resistance against superior numbers, being abandoned by the greater part of the escort upon the first discharge.

"The savages killed, or carried off, about seventy horses, leaving the wagons and stores standing in the road which have been all brought to this camp without any other loss or damage except some trifling articles.

"One company of light infantry, and one troop of dra-

goons, have been detached this morning to reinforce four other companies of infantry, commanded by Colonel Ham-



PLAN OF WAYNE'S ENCAMPMENT AT GREENVILLE.

1. Lieut. Massie's Bastion.
2. " Pope's "
3. Capt. Porter's "
4. " Ford's "
5. Headquarters.
6. Park of artillery.
7. 2nd troop of dragoons.
8. 1st " " "
9. 4th " " "
10. 3rd troop of dragoons
11—12. Gateways.
13—14. 3rd Sub. Legion.
15—16. 1st " "
17—18. 2nd. " "
19—20. 4th " "
21 to 28. Picket Guards.
29. Advance.
30. Rear Guards.

tramck, as an escort to the quartermaster general's and contractor's wagons and pack horses.

"I have this moment received the return of the mounted volunteers under General Scott, recently arrived and encamped in the vicinity of Fort Jefferson; I shall immediately order a strong detachment of those volunteers as a further reinforcement to Colonel Hamtramck.

"I fear that the season is too far advanced to derive that essential service, which, otherwise, might be expected from them; whether they can act with effect, or not, is yet eventual. * * * * *

"I anxiously wait the safe return of the escort and convoy, when we shall endeavor to take new ground, which will probably be disputed; be that as it may, the legion will not be too far committed."

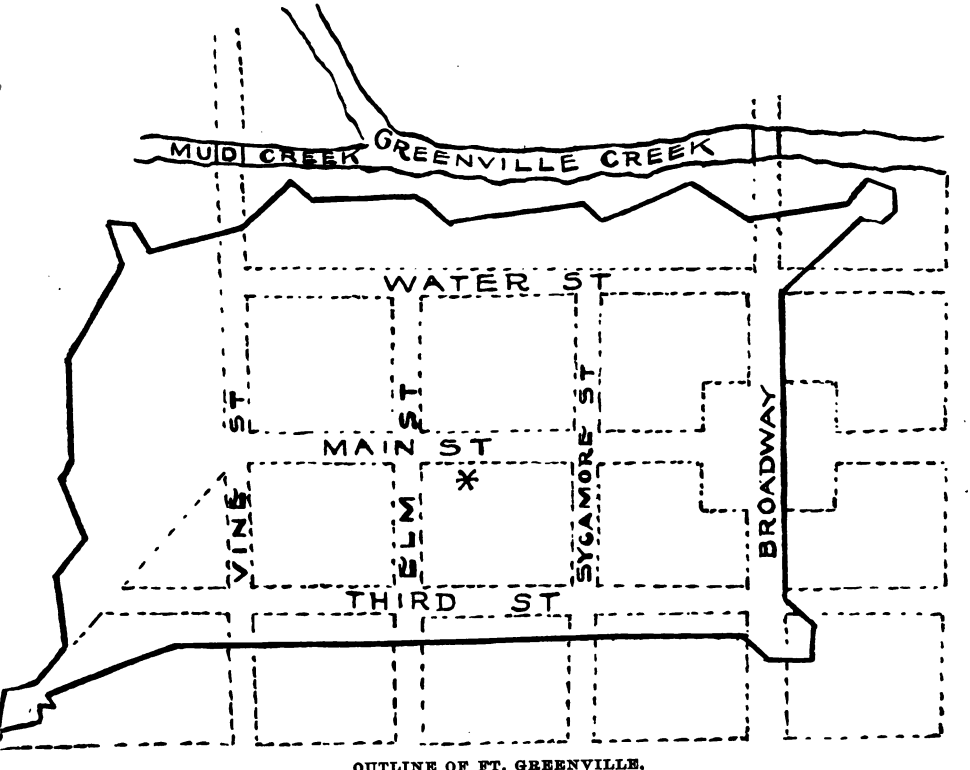
Winter being near at hand and the army encamped on a commanding site, the Kentucky militia were dismissed and the army prepared to go into winter quarters.

Accordingly, Fort Greenville was built and headquarters established.

The manner of erecting forts at this time was something like this:

The ground for the site of the fort was cleared, and several hundred feet around it, of all timber. A trench about three feet deep was dug; pickets about a foot in diameter and twenty feet long, cut, hewn and set therein and the dirt returned and packed about them. A ribbon of timber was run around near the top of the pickets and pinned to hold them in position. Log huts, each sheltering six men, were built in rows and each row occupied by one regiment. Store houses, artificer's shops, messrooms, officers' headquarters, and a magazine were also erected at suitable places.

While encamped at Greenville, Wayne drilled and disciplined the army for the exigencies of Indian warfare.



OUTLINE OF FT. GREENVILLE,
With reference to the Northern part of present city of Greenville, O.
*Reputed Site of Wayne's Headquarters.

He sent out a detachment to the site of St. Clair's defeat, to take possession of the place and build a fort. This post

was garrisoned and placed in charge of Captain Alex. Gibson, and named Fort Recovery, in commemoration of its recovery from the Indians.

During the forepart of 1794 he sent out painted scouts and spies among the savages and kept himself informed of their movements and designs. The scouts were about forty in number and served on foot, the spies were six or seven mounted frontiersmen, the most daring of the West. The road-cutters were also working in various directions, leaving the Indians in doubt as to the route to be followed by Wayne on the advance march.

On the 7th of June two Pottawattomies, captured on the Maumee, were examined at Greenville and from them it was ascertained that the British were at the foot of the Maumee Rapids on their way against the Americans; that they numbered 400 exclusive of the Detroit militia, and had two pieces of artillery; that they had fortified Colonel McKee's house and stores and deposited all their stores of ammunition, arms, clothing, and provision, with which they promised to supply all the hostile Indians in abundance, provided they would join, and go with them to war. They also stated that there were probably two thousand warriors of the Chippewas, Wyandots, Shawanese, Tawas, Delawares and Miamis then collected; that if the Pottawattomies should join them there would be over three thousand hostile Indians; and that the British and Indians intended to attack the legion about the last of the month or the first of the next.

On the 26th of June two Shawanese warriors, taken prisoners on the Maumee, were also examined and from them it was ascertained that the warriors of severa nations were assembled in great numbers at Grand Glaize; that the chiefs were in council; and that whether there

would be war or peace depended upon the conduct of the British, who were then assembled at the foot of the rapids, and had fortified Roche de Bout; that the Indians would no longer be set on like dogs, unless assisted by the British who had promised to join them.

The truth of these statements will be seen by the following report from Wayne at Greenville to the Secretary of War:

"At seven o'clock in the morning of the 30th ultimo, one of our escorts, consisting of ninety riflemen and fifty dragoons, commanded by Major McMahon, was attacked by a very numerous body of Indians, under the walls of Fort Recovery, followed by a general assault upon the post and garrison, in every direction.

"The enemy were soon repulsed, with great slaughter, but immediately rallied and reiterated the attack, keeping up a heavy and constant fire, at a most respectable distance, for the remainder of the day, which was answered with spirit and effect by the garrison, and that part of Major McMahon's command that had regained the post.

"The savages were employed during the night, (which was dark and foggy) in carrying off their dead, by torch-light, which occasionally drew a fire from the garrison. They, nevertheless, succeeded so well, that there were but eight or ten bodies left upon the field, and those close under the influence of the fire from the fort.

"The enemy again renewed the attack on the morning of the 1st instant, but were ultimately compelled to retreat, with loss and disgrace from that very field where they had, upon a former occasion, been proudly victorious.
* * * * *

"Among the killed, we have to lament the loss of four good and gallant officers, viz: Major McMahon, Captain

Hartshorne, and Lieutenant Craig, of the rifle corps, and Colonel Torry, of the cavalry, who fell in the first charge. Among the wounded are the intrepid Captain Taylor, of the dragoons, and Lieutenant Drake, of the infantry.

"It would appear that the real object of the enemy was to have carried that post by a *coup de main*; for they could not possibly have received intelligence of the escort under Major McMahon, which only marched from this place on the morning of the 29th ultimo, and deposited the supplies the same evening at Fort Recovery, from whence the escort was to have returned at reveille the next morning; therefore, their being found at that post was an accidental, perhaps a fortunate event. By every information, as well as the extent of their encampments, (which were perfectly square and regular), and their line of march in seventeen columns, forming a wide and extended front, their numbers could not have been less than from fifteen hundred to two thousand warriors.

"It would also appear that they were rather in want of provisions, as they killed and ate a number of packhorses, in their encampment the evening after the assault; also, at their encampment on their retreat, which was but seven miles from Fort Recovery, where they remained two nights, probably from being much incumbered with their dead and wounded. A considerable number of packhorses were actually loaded with the dead."

This letter also states that a party of Indians detached from Greenville to watch the movements of the savages reported that "there were a great number of white men with the Indians," which was corroborated by other evidence; and that the enemy probably "expected to find the artillery that were lost on the 4th of November, 1791, and hid by the Indians in beds of old fallen timber or logs."

On the 26th of June Major General Scott arrived at Fort Greenville with about 1600 mounted volunteers from Kentucky, and on the 28th the advance of the legion was commenced. Wayne wished to deceive the enemy and probably marched to Ft. Recovery; thence northeast to Girty's town (St. Mary's) on the St. Mary's; thence up that stream as if intending to surprise the Miami Villages; then crossing over (Shane's Crossing) he turned back toward the east, proceded across the Auglaize and thence to the junction of that river with the Maumee. The enemy would probably have been surprised had they not been notified of the advance of the army by a certain Newman who deserted at the St. Mary's. What followed is explained by the following letter from Wayne to the Secretary of War on the 14th of August.

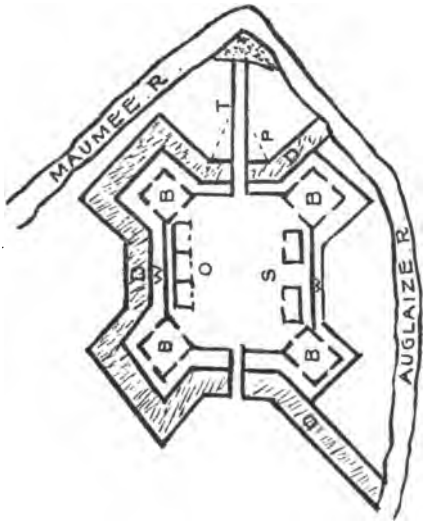
"I have the honor to inform you that the army under my command took possession of this very important post on the morning of the 8th instant—the enemy on the preceding evening having abandoned all their settlements, towns and villages. * * * * *

"I had made such demonstrations, for a length of time previous to taking up our line of march, as to induce the savages to expect our advance by the route of the Miami villages to the left, or towards Roche de Bout by the right, which feint appears to have had the desired effect, by drawing the attention of the enemy to those points, and gave an opening for the army to approach undiscovered by a devious route, i. e., in a central direction. * * * *

"Thus, sir, we have gained possession of the grand emporium of the West, without loss of blood. The very extensive and highly cultivated fields and gardens show the work of many hands, the margins of those beautiful rivers, the Miamis of the lake, and Au Glaize, appear like one

continued village for a number of miles, both above and below this place; nor have I ever before beheld such immense fields of corn, in any part of America, from Canada to Florida.

"We are now employed in completing a strong stockade fort, with four good blockhouses, by way of bastions, at the confluence of the Au Glaize and the Miamis, which I have called Defiance. Another fort was also erected on



FT. DEFIANCE.

B. Block houses.
D. Ditch 15 ft. wide.
W. Wall of earth 8 ft. thick.
O. Officers' quarters.
S. Store houses.
P. Two lines of pickets.
T. Ditch 8 feet deep leading to sand bar.

the bank of the St. Mary's, twenty-four miles advanced of

Recovery, which was named Adams, and endowed with provision and a proper garrison.

"Every thing is now prepared for a forward move to-morrow morning, towards Roche de Bout, or foot of the rapids, where the British have a regular fortification, well supplied with artillery, and strongly garrisoned, in the vicinity of which the fate of the campaign will probably be decided; as from the best and most recent intelligence, the enemy are there collected in force, and joined by the militia of Detroit, etc., etc., possessed of ground very favorable for cavalry to act in. Yet, notwithstanding this unfavorable intelligence, and unpleasant circumstances of ground I do not despair of success, from the spirit and ardor of the troops, from the general down to the privates, both of the legion and mounted volunteers.

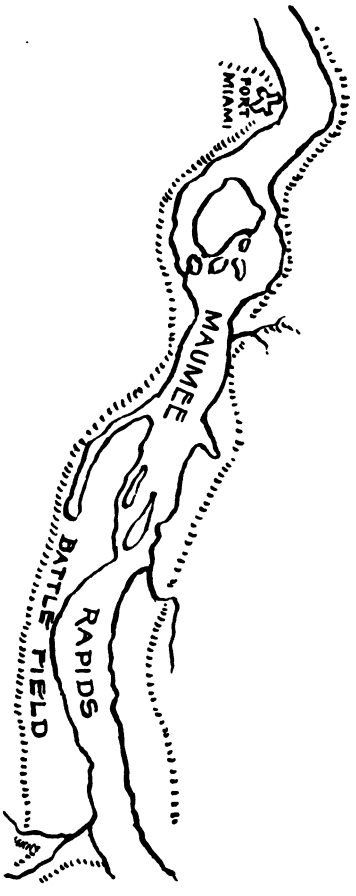
"Yet I have thought proper to offer the enemy a last overture of peace; and as they have everything that is dear and interesting now at stake, I have reason to expect that they will listen to the proposition mentioned in the enclosed copy of an address, dispatched yesterday by a special flag, who I sent under circumstances that will ensure his safe return, and which may eventually spare the effusion of much human blood.

"But should war be their choice, that blood be upon their own heads. America shall no longer be insulted with impunity. To an all powerful and just God I therefore commit myself and gallant army. * * * *"

On the 13th of August, Wayne sent Christian Miller, a naturalized Shawanese who had been taken prisoner six months before, with a message of peace to the assembled tribes.

On the 16th, the army which had advanced the day previous, met Miller, returning with the message that the

Indians would decide for peace or war if the Americans would wait ten days at Grand Glaize. Impatient of delay, Wayne moved forward, and, on the 18th, began to construct some light works, to protect the heavy baggage during the expected conflict. This work was completed on the 19th, and called Fort Deposit. The baggage was left here, and on the 20th the army moved down the north bank of the Maumee. The following letter from Wayne to the Secretary of War, addressed at his headquarters on the Grand Glaize, August 28th, explains what followed:



WAYNE'S BATTLE GROUND.

"It is with infinite pleasure that I now announce to you the brilliant success of the Federal army

under my command, in a general action with the combined forces of the hostile Indians, and a considerable number of volunteers and militia of Detroit, on the 20th instant, on the banks of the Miami, in the vicinity of the British post and garrison, at the foot of the rapids.

"The army advanced from this place on the 15th, and arrived at Roche de Bout on the 18th; the 19th we were employed in making a temporary post for reception of our stores and baggage, and in reconnoitering the position of the enemy, who were encamped behind a thick brushy wood and the British fort.

"At eight o'clock on the morning of the 20th, the army again advanced in columns, agreeably to the standing order of march; the legion on the right, its right flank covered with the Miamis, one brigade of mounted volunteers on the left, under Brigadier General Todd, and the other in the rear, under Brigadier General Barbie. A select battalion of mounted volunteers moved in front of the legion, commanded by Major Price, who was directed to keep sufficiently advanced, so as to give timely notice for the troops to form in case of action, it being yet undetermined whether the Indians would decide for peace or war.

"After advancing about five miles, Major Price's corps received so severe a fire from the enemy, who were secreted in the woods and high grass, as to compel them to retreat. The legion was immediately formed in two lines, principally in a close thick wood, which extended for miles on our left, and for a very considerable distance in front, the ground being covered with old fallen timber, probably occasioned by a tornado, which rendered it impracticable for the cavalry to act with effect, and afforded the enemy the most favorable covert for their mode of warfare. The savages were formed in three lines, within supporting

distance of each other, and extending for nearly two miles at right angles with the river. I soon discovered, from the weight of the fire and extent of their lines, that the enemy were in full force in front, in possession of their favorite ground and endeavoring to turn our left flank. I therefore gave orders for the second line to advance and support the first, and directed Major General Scott to gain and turn the right flank of the savages, with the whole of the mounted volunteers, by a circuitous route; at the same time I ordered the front line to advance and charge with trailed arms, and rouse the Indians from their coverts at the point of the bayonet, and when up deliver a close and well directed fire on their backs, followed by a brisk charge, so as not to give them time to load again.

"I also ordered Captain Mis Campbell, who commanded the legionary cavalry, to turn the left flank of the enemy next the river, and which afforded a favorable field for that corps to act in. All these orders were obeyed with spirit and promptitude; but such was the impetuosity of the charge by the first line of infantry, that the Indians, and Canadian militia, and volunteers, were drove from all their coverts in so short a time, that, although every possible exertion was used by the officers of the second line of the legion, and by Generals Scott, Todd and Barbie, of the mounted volunteers, to gain their proper positions, but part of each could get up in season to participate in the action, the enemy being drove, in the course of one hour, more than two miles, through the thick woods already mentioned, by less than one-half their numbers.

"From every account, the enemy amounted to two thousand combatants. The troops actually engaged against them were short of nine hundred.

"The horde of savages, with their allies, abandoned

themselves to flight, and dispersed with terror and dismay, leaving our victorious army in full and quiet possession of the field of battle which terminated under the influence of the British garrison. * * * *"

The general then commends the bravery and conduct of all the officers, and makes special mention of Wilkinson, Hamtramck, Lieutenants Powels, Webb, Covington, Harrison, and Smith, Major Mills, and Captains DeButt, Lewis, Slough, Prior, Van Rensselaer, Rawlins, Brock, Campbell, and Ensign Duncan. He then continues further:

"The loss of the enemy was more than double to that of the Federal army. The woods were strewed for a considerable distance with the dead bodies of Indians and their white auxiliaries, the latter armed with British muskets and bayonets.

"We remained three days and nights on the banks of the Miami, in front of the field of battle, during which time all the houses and cornfields were consumed and destroyed for a considerable distance, both above and below Fort Miami, as well as within pistol shot of that garrison, who were compelled to remain tacit spectators to this general devastation and conflagration, among which were the houses, stores, and property, of Colonel McKee, the British Indian agent, and principal stimulator of the war now existing between the United States and the savages.

"The army returned to this place on the 27th, by easy marches, laying waste the villages and cornfields for about fifty miles on each side of the Miami. There remains yet a great number of villages, and a great quantity of corn, to be consumed or destroyed, upon the Au Glaize and the Miami, above this place, which will be effected in the course of a few days.

"In the interim, we shall improve Fort Defiance, and as soon as the escort returns with the necessary supplies from Greenville, and Fort Recovery, the army will proceed to the Miami villages, in order to accomplish the object of the campaign.

"It is, however, not improbable that the enemy may make one desperate effort against the army, as it is said that a reinforcement was hourly expected at Fort Miami from Niagara, as well as numerous tribes of Indians living on the margin and islands of the lakes.

"This is a business rather to be wished for than dreaded, whilst the army remains in force. Their numbers will only tend to confuse the savages, and the victory will be the more complete and decisive, and which may eventually insure a permanent and lasting peace. * * * "

The official returns of the loss of the American army in this encounter are as follows: twenty-one privates and five officers of the legion killed, and seventy-four privates and seventeen officers wounded, also, seven privates of the Kentucky volunteers killed, and ten privates and three officers wounded.

From a Canadian taken in the battle the following estimates of the number of the enemy were received: About 500 Delawares, 200 Miamis, 300 Shawanese, 250 Tawas and 300 Wyandots. He also stated that 200 militia, and some regulars arrived at Fort Miami a few days before the engagement; that there were 250 regular troops in the fort, exclusive of the militia; that about 70 of the militia were in the action; and that McKee, Elliott, and Simon Girty were in the field, at a respectable distance.

A drummer in the 24th British Regiment gave like testimony, and stated further that "there were four nine-pounders, two large howitzers, and six six-pounders

mounted in the fort, and two swivels, all well supplied with ammunition," and "that the Indians were regularly supplied with provisions drawn from the British magazine, in the garrison, by Col. McKee."

The Indians expected the protection of the fort should the battle turn against them, but in this they were sorely disappointed as the gates were closed.

This act caused them to lessen their faith in the British and look more favorably upon the Americans.

After the battle the army encamped near Fort Miami, built by order of the British Governor in 1794, and commanded at the time by Major Wm. Campbell. The latter addressed Gen. Wayne on the 21st questioning him concerning the action of the army, and stating that he knew of no war existing between Great Britain and America. Wayne answered that the position occupied by him was far within the jurisdiction of the United States; that no such post was established at the commencement of the present war between the Indians and the United States, and demanded him to withdraw the troops, artillery, and stores immediately, and remove to the nearest military post occupied by the British troops at the peace of 1783.

Campbell refused to comply with this demand, and threatened to engage the army, should it approach within reach of his cannon. Upon the receipt of this note everything within reach of the fort was set on fire and destroyed, even under the muzzle of the guns, but the commandant did not execute his threat.

On the night before the battle it is said that the Indians held a council to decide what action should be taken, and that Blue Jacket, the Shawanese warrior, spoke in favor of an engagement, but Little Turtle was inclined to

peace. The latter is credited by Schoolcraft with arguing as follows: "We have beaten the enemy twice under separate commanders. We cannot expect the same good fortune always to attend us. The Americans are now led by a chief who never sleeps; the night and the day are alike to him. And during all the time that he has been marching upon our villages, notwithstanding the watchfulness of our young men, we have never been able to surprise him. Think well of it. There is something whispers me, it would be prudent to listen to his offers of peace." Being reproached for cowardice, which was foreign to his nature, he laid aside resentment and took part in the battle, but left the leadership to his opponent. The result proved his sagacity.

The army left Fort Defiance on the 14th of September for the Miami village, at the confluence of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph's. Here a fort was built and garrisoned and placed under the command of Major Hamtramck, who called it Fort Wayne.

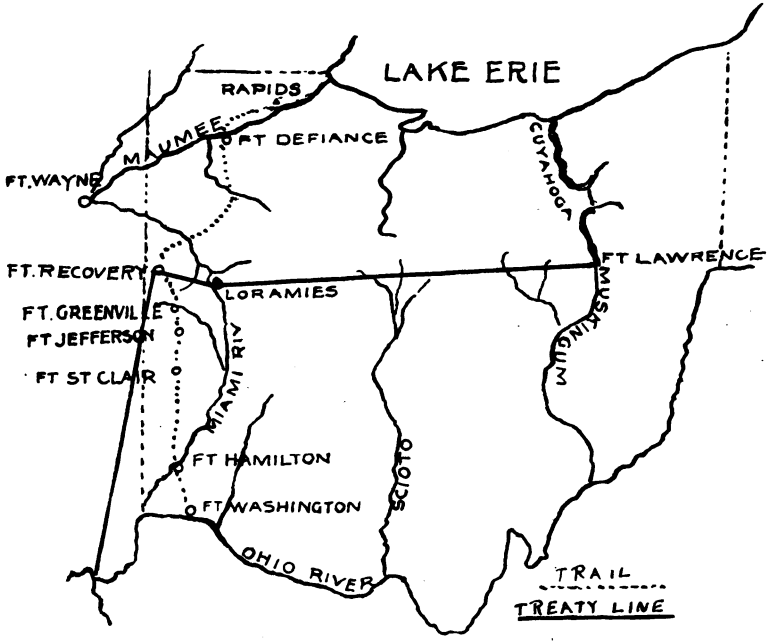
On the 14th of October the mounted Kentucky volunteers, who had rendered such good service, marched for Ft. Washington to be mustered out of service.

The great number of sick and wounded had exhausted the provisions, the terms of enlistment of many of the legion had expired, and Wayne urged upon the Secretary of War the necessity of prompt and effectual measures on the part of Congress for increasing the garrisons at the western posts.

The legion left for Greenville on the 28th of October, and upon his arrival, Wayne re-established headquarters here. He afterwards sent out detachments to build forts at the upper Piqua village, at Loramie's stores, about 14 miles further up, and at the old Tawa towns at

the head of navigation, on the Au Glaize. These posts were established for the storage of supplies to facilitate their transportation by water in proper seasons, and also with the view of abandoning the old route and adopting this one, "as the most economical, sure and certain mode of supplying those important posts, at Grand Glaize and the Miami villages, and to facilitate an effective operation towards the Detroit and Sandusky, should that measure eventually prove necessary;" also to "afford a much better chain for the general protection of the frontiers," etc.

"The battle at the rapids of the Maumee opened the land for the Ordinance of 1787. Measured by the forces engaged it was not a great one, nor was that which had been fought on the heights of Quebec. But estimated by the difficulties overcome, and the consequences which followed, both were momentous. To the bold spirit of Pitt, Earl of Chatham, is due presumably that the people of the Mississippi valley are not to-day Canadian-French. Next in honor with the people of the Northwest, as among their founders, might well be placed the lion-hearted Anthony Wayne, who opened the 'glorious gates of the Ohio' to the tide of civilization so long shut off from its hills and valleys." (American Commonwealths—Ohio—Ruf. King, p. 261.)


LAKE ERIE
RAPIDS
MAUMEE
FT DEFIANCE
FT. WAYNE
CUYAHOGA
FT LAWRENCE
MUSKINGUM
FT. RECOVERY
LORAMIES
FT. GREENVILLE
FT JEFFERSON
FT ST CLAIR
MIAMI RIV
FT HAMILTON
FT WASHINGTON
SCIOTO
OHIO RIVER
TRAIL
TREATY LINE

IV.

THE TREATY OF GREENVILLE.

After the battle on the Maumee, the Indians of the Northwest still hesitated to seek peace. The British agents, Simcoe, McKee, and Brant, stimulated them to continue hostilities. They strengthened their fort near the rapids, supplied the Indians from their magazines, called a council, and urged the Indians to propose a truce or suspension of hostilities until spring, in order to deceive the Americans, that they might neglect to keep sufficient troops to retain their position. They also advised the savages to convey their land to the King in trust, so as to give the British a pretext for assisting them, and, in case the Americans refused to abandon all their posts and possessions on the west side of the Ohio, to make a general attack and drive them across that river. Brant also told them to keep a good heart; that he would return home, for the present, with his warriors, and come again in the spring, with a larger force, "to fight, kill and pursue the Americans." He also "advised them to amuse the Americans with a prospect of peace, until the tribes should collect in force to fall upon them early in the spring, and when least expected."

Notwithstanding all these propositions, the Indians began to understand their critical condition, and to lose faith in the British.

Information was received from Kaskaskia, that they were crossing the Mississippi every day, and despaired of withstanding the Americans.

The humane disposition of the victors, however, finally won their confidence, and, on the 28th and 29th of December, the chiefs of several tribes manifested their desire for peace to the commandant at Fort Wayne. Proceeding to Greenville, representatives of the Chippewas, Ottawas, Sacs, Pottawattomies, and Miamis entered, together with the Shawanese, Delawares, and Wyandots, into preliminary articles with General Wayne on the 24th of January, 1795. The first article provided, "that, until articles for a permanent peace shall be adjusted, agreed to, and signed, all hostilities shall cease, and the aforesaid sachems, and war chiefs, for and in behalf of the nations which they represent, do agree to meet the above named plenipotentiary of the United States, at Greenville, on or about the 15th day of June next, with all the sachems and war chiefs of their nations, then and there to consult and conclude upon such terms of amity and peace as shall be for the interest and to the satisfaction of both parties."

Article two provided for the prompt report of any meditated or attempted hostilities of any nation or tribe, against any post or settlement, to the commander in chief, or to the officer commanding troops of the U. S. at the nearest post, should it come to the knowledge of the nations above mentioned. Also, that the commander in chief, and his subordinate officers, should do likewise on behalf of the said Indian Nations.

For the next few months prisoners were exchanged, and the Indians were preparing to meet in June as agreed. Early in that month a large number of Delawares, Ottawas, Pottawattomies, and Eel River Indians, arrived at

Greenville, and on the 16th, General Wayne met them in general council for the first time. After smoking the pipe of peace, the General addressed them. Among other things he said: "I have cleared this ground of all brush and rubbish, and opened roads to the east, to the west, to the north, and to the south, that all nations may come in safety and ease to meet me. The ground on which the council house stands is unstained with blood, and is as pure as the heart of General Washington, the great chief of America, and of his great council—as pure as my heart, which now wishes for nothing so much as peace and brotherly love. I have this day kindled the council fire of the United States; we will now cover it up, and keep it alive, until the remainder of the different tribes assemble, and form a full meeting and representation.

"I now deliver to each tribe present a string of white wampum, to serve as record of the friendship that is this day commenced between us." Te-tá-bosksh-ke, King of the Delawares, responded, assuring him of the friendly feeling of his people; the fire was raked up, and the council adjourned.

On the 17th, forty Pottawattomies arrived, and New Corn, one of their chiefs, said that they had abandoned the British and wished to be on good terms with the Americans. On the 21st, Buck-on-ge-he-las, with a party of Delawares, and Asi-me-the, with a party of Pottawattomies, arrived and were received into the council-house.

On the 23rd, Le Gris, the Little Turtle, and seventeen Miamis arrived, and were presented. The former observed "that the Miamis were united with him in friendly sentiments and wishes for peace."

All these delegations were greeted by the General upon their arrival in an appropriate manner, the customs

of the garrison explained, and great pains taken to accommodate and entertain them.

On the 26th, thirty-four Chippewas and Pottawattomies arrived, and on the 3rd of July, the General addressed the assembled chiefs concerning the twentieth anuniversary of American Independence, to be celebrated on the morrow. He explained the significance of the same and asked them not to be alarmed at the report of the cannon and other demonstrations. A-goosh-a-wav, and twenty-three Ottawas, arrived on the 9th, and after being greeted, the former expressed his belief that all the nations were now represented who might in all probability be reasonably expected.

A council was held on the 9th, in which the General observed that all the Indians were now present except the Wyandots of Sandusky, and the Shawanese; that, although it had been twenty-five days since the council fire was kindled, he had information that the above people were finally on their way, and might be expected to arrive in a few days. He then asked them whether it would be best to name a day upon which to begin work, or await the arrival of the other chiefs. After a few remarks, the Indians agreed to do the latter.

The council adjourned until the 13th, and was again adjourned on that day to accommodate some Wyandot chiefs and others who had arrived on the 12th. Council opened on the 15th with swearing in the interpreters, and the General addressed them at length, showing that he stood there in the place of General Washington, and represented the Fifteen Fires or States of America, and that the meeting was brought about by an application, first from the Wyandots. He also urged the treaty with St. Clair, at Ft. Harmar, as the basis for a lasting peace with

the United States and advised them to consider these matters for a few days.

The fire was then raked up and the council adjourned to the 18th. On that day the Little Turtle observed that the treaty at Ft. Harmar "was effected altogether by the Six Nations, who seduced some of our young men to attend it, together with a few of the Chippewas, Wyandots, Ottawas, Delawares, and Pottawattomies," and "that he was entirely ignorant of what was done at that treaty." Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish also stated that he "knew nothing of the treaty in question" on account of his remote situation on Lake Michigan.

Tarke (or Crane), the Wyandot chief, arose and remarked that he wished it to be determined what nation should speak, and that a day be appointed when all present, together with those on the way, should meet.

The General answered that he had paid attention to their remarks, and that he would endeavor to fully explain to them, two days hence, the treaty of Muskingum, (Ft. Harmar), of which so many plead ignorance. Also, that he would recall to "the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattomies, and Sac nations, what they did at that treaty," and show the names of those who witnessed it. Council adjourned to meet on the 20th.

On the evening of the 18th, Blue Jacket and thirteen Shawanese, and Massas with twenty Chippewas, arrived, and were received into the council house. Massas remarked that they should have come in greater number but for Brant's interference; that the Wyandots and Six Nations were holding council; and, that he had been faithful to the treaty of Muskingum to the best of his knowledge. Blue Jacket then said that he had intended to fulfill his promise, made at the preliminary meeting, but had exper-

ienced some difficulty in bringing his people forward and was thus delayed. In a private conference on the 19th, he also told the General that McKee had reprimanded him for "seducing his people into the snares of the Americans." When the council opened on the 20th, the Shawanese and Chippewas were present in addition to the rest, and the General read to them his message to the hostile Indians on the 13th of August, 1794. He also read and explained the treaty of Fort Harmar, and pointed out a number of chiefs who were present and signed both that and the treaty of Fort McIntosh, and asked them to consider seriously what he had said, and upon their next meeting, make known their thoughts. After Pe-ke-te-le-mund, a Delaware chief, and Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish had spoken, the council adjourned, and on the 21st Massas spoke in behalf of the Ottawas, Chippewas and Pottawattomies. He spoke in favor of peace, and stated that the Three Fires which he represented had poor interpreters at the treaty of Muskingum, and that if their uncles, the Wyandots, and grandfathers, the Delawares, had received presents and compensation, they were never informed of it. Tarke, Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish, the General, and Massas then made some remarks and were followed by Little Turtle, who c aimed ignorance of the lands ceded along the Wabash, and that he was surprised to hear "that these lands had been ceded by the British to the Americans, when the former were beaten by and made peace with the latter." On the following day he stated that the line pointed out as the boundary between the Indians and the U. S. cut off from the former a large portion of country, which had been enjoyed by their forefathers from time immemorial, without molestation or dispute; and that he had been charged not to sell it. Tarke then arose and said, that the ground be-

longed to the Great Spirit above, and that they all had an equal right to it; that he always considered the treaty of Muskingum, as formed upon the fairest principles, and as binding upon the Indians and the U. S. Also, that it was true not all the nations now assembled were represented, but that they now wished to establish a permanent peace.

On the 23rd Blue Jacket, A-goosh-a-way, an Ottawa chief, Massas, Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish, and New Corn addressed the council and showed a desire to bury the hachet. On the 24th, Blue Jacket opened the council and was followed by the General, who addressed the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawattomies, the claimants of the land sold to the United States at the last treaty, for which they said that they had not been compensated. He remarked that it was always the intention of the United States "that the true owners of those lands should receive full compensation for them;" that if they had not received a due proportion of the goods delivered at that time, it was not the fault of the United States; and, that notwithstanding these lands had been twice paid for, once at Ft. McIntosh, and again at Ft. Harmar, yet the United States would be liberal enough to pay for them again. He then addressed the Miamis, who claimed the land enclosed by lines from Detroit to the Scioto, thence down to the Ohio, thence down to the mouth of the Wabash, and thence to Chicago; and pointed out to them that this included all the land on which all the nations present lived, besides those which had been ceded to the United States. As to the traces left by their forefathers, he said that the French and English also had left very conspicuous marks of their possessions in the same territory, a few of which he designated and remarked further that they had paid but little attention to the injunction of the Great Spirit, who charged

their forefathers to preserve their lands entire for their posterity. Notwithstanding all this, he assured them that they would receive further valuable compensation for the lands ceded by them at former treaties. Next a part of the treaty of 1783 between the United States and Great Britain was read, showing that the latter had surrendered this land to the former, and had agreed to abandon all the posts therein, but had not fulfilled their promises. This was followed by the reading of the second article of Jay's Treaty, made eight months before, according to which the British promised to retire from all places south of the lakes, in the following June, and leave the same to the full and quiet possession of the United States. The General then committed to the Wyandots a large belt with a string attached, to be delivered, in turn, among the younger tribes, as a token of the blotting out of all former stains; also a large road belt to be preserved and to serve as a password to the Fifteen Fires. Tarke then spoke, and the council adjourned until the 27th.

On that day the General read and commented upon the articles of the proposed treaty, and delivered a belt as an emblem of the ten articles of the same. He was followed by Tarke and Little Turtle, who urged their brothers to deliberate seriously upon them.

On the 28th Tarke said that the Wyandots, Delawares, and Shawanese wished further time to consider so important a matter, and that they would be prepared to answer on the morrow.

The Sun, a Pottawattomie chief, then delivered a war belt that had been presented to his tribe by the British four years previous, and had caused them much trouble, and asked that it be destroyed or transformed so as to prevent its future recognition. He was followed by New

Corn, Little Turtle and Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish, who urged the other nations to hasten and finish the good work proposed.

On the 29th, Tarke presented a written address, objecting because no provision had been made to protect them from the mischief that might take place among them. He was followed by Little Turtle who desired the proposed boundary line to be run from Recovery to Hamilton, instead of to Loramies.

Asi-me-the then expressed the opinion that this treaty would be lasting, and the council adjourned to the 30th.

On that day Asi-me-the resumed his address; Kee-a-lah, a Kickapoo chief, arose, and, through Little Turtle, presented a white pipe to the United States, in behalf of the Kickapoos and Kaskaskias, as a token of friendship; Mash-i-pi-nash-i-wish, in behalf of the Three Fires, granted all the reservations asked for in their territory and added to these the Isle de Bois Blanc; the Little Beaver, a Wea chief, then spoke through Little Turtle concerning the reservation at Ouiatenon, and a place called Musquiton; Massas, the Chippewa, followed, with a question concerning the reservation at Detroit, and urged the tribes to sign the treaty and finish their business.

The General then arose, gave satisfactory and final answers to all the previous remarks and objections concerning boundaries, reservations, hostages, trade, etc., and read and explained again the articles of the treaty. He then stated that it was time to conclude the negotiation, and asked each nation individually if they approved and were ready to sign the articles in their present form. Each assented unamimously, and the council adjourned for two or three days, to give time for engrossing the treaty.

On the 31st, Red Pole, with 88 Shawanese, and Tey-

yagh-tah, with 7 Wyandots, 9 of the Six Nations, and 10 Delawares, arrived from Detroit, and on the 2nd of August, were present at council. Red Pole spoke of his good intentions and was followed by the General who read an address and the invoice of some presents sent by the Quakers as a means of promoting peace. Blue Jacket remarked that all had joined in the peace, and was assured that the President would rejoice at these tidings.

On the 3rd, the council assembled to sign the treaty. General Wayne again read his commissions and explained his authority for holding the same, said that he had fulfilled his instructions, and then read for the third time the articles of the treaty which had been engrossed. The chiefs then signed and were informed that one part should be delivered to the Wyandots for preservation, the other, to the Great Chief, General Washington, and that in addition each nation should receive one copy; also, that the goods to be given them would now be apportioned and delivered in a few days.

The number of the different nations at and parties to the treaty were as follows. Wyandots, 180; Delawares, 381; Shawanese, 143; Ottawas, 45; Chippewas, 46; Pottawattomies, 240; Miamis and Eel Rivers, 73; Weas and Piankeshaws, 12; Kickapoos and Kaskaskias, 10; making a total of 1130.

The following is the text of the treaty:

"ARTICLE 1. Henceforth, all hostilities shall cease; peace is hereby established, and shall be perpetual; and a friendly intercourse shall take place between the said United States and Indian Tribes.

"ART. 2. All prisoners shall, on both sides, be restored. The Indians, prisoners to the United States, shall be immediately set at liberty. The people of the United

States, still remaining prisoners among the Indians, shall be delivered up in ninety days from the date hereof, to the General or commanding officer at Greenville, Fort Wayne, or Fort Defiance; and ten chiefs of the said tribes shall remain at Greenville as hostages until the delivery of the prisoners shall be effected.

"ART. 3. The general boundary line, between the lands of the United States and the lands of said Indian tribes, shall begin at the mouth of Cuyahoga River, and run thence up the same, to the portage between that and the Tuscaroras branch of the Muskingum: thence, down that branch to the crossing place, above Fort Lawrence; thence westerly, to a fork of that branch of the great Miami river running into the Ohio, at or near which fork stood Loramie's store, and where commences the portage between the Miami of the Ohio, and St. Mary's river, which is a branch of the Miami, which runs into Lake Erie; thence, a westerly course to Fort Recovery, which stands on a branch of the Wabash; thence, southwesterly in a direct line to the Ohio, so as to intersect that river, opposite the mouth of the Kentucky, or Cuttawa river. And in consideration of the peace now established, of the goods formerly received from the United States, of those now to be delivered, and of a yearly delivery of goods now stipulated to be made hereafter, and to indemnify the United States for the injuries and expenses they have sustained during the war, the said Indian tribes do hereby cede and relinquish forever, all their claims to the lands lying eastwardly and southwardly of the general boundary line, now described; and these lands, or any of them, shall never be made a cause or pretense, on the part of the said tribes, or any of them, of a war or injury to the United States, or any of the people thereof.

"And for the same considerations, and as an evidence of the returning friendship of the said Indian tribes, of their confidence in the United States, and desire to provide for their accommodation, and for that convenient intercourse which will be beneficial to both parties, the said Indian tribes do also cede to the United States, the following pieces of land, to wit: 1. One piece of land, six miles square, at or near Loramie's store; before mentioned. 2. One piece two miles square, at the head of the navigable water or landing on the St. Mary's river, near Girty's town. 3. One piece six miles square, at the head of the navigable water of the Au Glaize river. 4. One piece six miles square, at the confluence of the Au Glaize and Miami rivers, where Fort Defiance now stands. 5. One piece six miles square, at or or near the confluence of the rivers St. Mary's and St. Joseph's, where Fort Wayne now stands, or near it. 6. One piece two miles square, on the Wabash river, at the end of the portage from the Miami of the lake, and about eight miles westward from Fort Wayne. 7. One piece six miles square, at the Ouiatenon, or old Wea towns, on the Wabash river. 8. One piece twelve miles square, at the British fort, on the Miami of the lake, at the foot of the rapids. 9. One piece six miles square, at the mouth of the said river, where it empties into the lake. 10. One piece six miles square, at the lower rapids of Sandusky river. 11. The post of Detroit, and all the lands to the north, the west, and the south of it, of which the Indian title has been extinguished by gifts or grants to the French or English governments; and so much more land, to be annexed to the district of Detroit, as shall be comprehended between the river Rosine, on the south, lake St. Clair, on the north, and a line, the general course whereof shall be six miles

distant from the west end of lake Erie and Detroit river. 13. The post of Michilimackinac, and all the land on the island on which that post stands, and the main land adjacent, of which the Indian title has been extinguished by gifts or grants to the French or English governments; and a piece of land on the main, to the north of the island, to measure six miles on Lake Huron, or the strait between Lakes Huron and Michigan, and to extend three miles back from the water of the lake or strait; and, also, the island De Bois Blanc, being an extra and voluntary gift of the Chippewa nation. 14. One piece of land six miles square, at the mouth of the Chicago River, emptying into the southwest end of Lake Michigan where a fort formerly stood. 15. One piece twelve miles square, at or near the mouth of the Illinois river, emptying into the Mississippi. 16. One piece six miles square, at the old Peorias fort and village, near the south end of the Illinois Lake, on said Illinois river. And whenever the United States shall think proper to survey and mark the boundaries of the lands hereby ceded to them, they shall give timely notice thereof to the said tribes of Indians, that they may appoint some of their wise chiefs, to attend and see that the lines are run according to the terms of this treaty.

"And the said Indian tribes will allow to the people of the United States, a free passage by land and by water, as one and the other shall be found convenient, through their country, along the chain of posts herein before mentioned; that is to say, from the commencement of the portage aforesaid, at or near Loramie's store, thence, along said portage to the St. Mary's, and down the same to Fort Wayne, and then down the Miami to Lake Erie; again, from the commencement of the portage at or near Loramie's store, along the portage; from thence to the river

Au Glaize, and down the same to its junction with the Miami, at Fort Defiance; again, from the commencement of the portage aforesaid, to Sandusky river, and down the same to Sandusky Bay and Lake Erie, and from Sandusky to the post which shall be taken at or near the foot of the rapids of the Miami of the lake; and from thence to Detroit. Again, from the mouth of the Chicago, to the commencement of the portage, between that river and the Illinois, and down the Illinois river to the Mississippi; also, from Fort Wayne, along the portage aforesaid, which leads to the Wabash, and then down the Wabash to the Ohio. And the said Indian tribes will, also, allow to the people of the United States, the free use of the harbors and mouths of rivers along the lakes adjoining the Indian lands, for sheltering vessels and boats, and liberty to land their cargoes where necessary for their safety.

"ART. 4. In consideration of the peace, now established, and of the cessions and relinquishments of lands made in the preceding article by the said tribes of Indians, and to manifest the liberality of the United States, as the great means of rendering this peace strong and perpetual, the United States relinquish their claims to all other Indian lands, northward of the river Ohio, eastward of the Mississippi, and westward and southward of the Great Lakes, and the waters uniting them, according to the boundary line agreed on by the United States and King of Great Britain, in the treaty of peace, made between them in the year 1783. But, from this relinquishment by the United States, the following tracts of land are explicitly excepted. 1. The tract of one hundred and fifty thousand acres, near the rapids of the river Ohio, which has been assigned to General Clarke, for the use of himself and his warriors. 2. The post of St. Vincennes, on the river

Wabash, and the lands adjacent, of which the Indian title has been extinguished. 3. The lands at all other places in possession of the French people, and other white settlers among them, of which the Indian title has been extinguished, as mentioned in the 3rd article. And 4th, the post of fort Massac, towards the mouth of the Ohio. To which several parcels of lands, so excepted, the said tribes relinquish all the title and claim which they or any of them may have.

"And for the same considerations, and with the same views as above mentioned, the United States now deliver to the said Indian tribes, a quantity of goods, to the value of twenty thousand dollars, the receipt whereof they do hereby acknowledge; and henceforward, every year, forever, the United States will deliver, at some convenient place northward of the river Ohio, like useful goods, suited to the circumstances of the Indians, of the value of nine thousand five hundred dollars; reckoning that value at the first cost of the goods in the city or place, in the United States, where they shall be procured. The tribes to which these goods are to be annually delivered, and the proportions in which they are to be delivered, are the following: 1st. To the Wyandots, the amount of one thousand dollars. 2nd. To the Delawares, the amount of one thousand dollars. 3d. To the Shawanese, the amount of one thousand dollars. 4th. To the Miamis, the amount of one thousand dollars. 5th. To the Ottawas, the amount of one thousand dollars. 6th. To the Chippewas, the amount of one thousand dollars. 7th. To the Pottawattomies, the amount of one thousand dollars. 8th. And to the Kickapoo, Wea, Eel River, Piankeshaw, and Kaskaskia tribes, the amount of five hundred dollars, each. Provided, that if either of the

said tribes shall, hereafter, at an annual delivery of their share of the goods aforesaid, desire that a part of their annuity should be furnished in domestic animals, implements of husbandry, and other utensils convenient for them, and in compensation to useful artificers, who may reside with, or near them, and be employed for their benefit, the same shall, at the subsequent annual deliveries, be furnished accordingly.

"ART. 5. To prevent any misunderstanding about the Indian lands relinquished by the United States in the fourth article, it is now explicitly declared, that the meaning of that relinquishment is this: The Indian tribes who have a right to those lands, ~~are to quietly enjoy them~~, hunting, planting and dwelling thereon, so long as they please, without any ~~molestation~~ from the United States; but when those tribes, or any of them, shall be disposed to sell their lands, or any portion of them, they are to be sold only to the United States; and until such sale, the United States will protect all the said Indian tribes in the quiet enjoyment of their lands, against all citizens of the United States, and against all other white persons who intrude upon the same. And the said Indian tribes, again acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the said United States, and no other Power whatever.

"ART 6. If any citizen of the United States, or any other white person or persons, shall presume to settle upon the lands, now relinquished by the United States, such citizen or other person shall be out of the protection of the United States; and the Indian tribe, on whose land the settlement shall be made, may drive off the settler, or punish him in such a manner as they shall think fit; and because such settlements, made without the consent

of the United States, will be injurious to them, as well as to the Indians, the United States shall be at liberty to break them up, and remove and punish the settlers as they shall think proper, and so effect that protection of the Indian lands hereinbefore stipulated.

"ART. 7. The said tribes of Indians, parties to this treaty, shall be at liberty to hunt within the territory and lands which they have now ceded to the United States, without hindrance or molestation, so long as they demean themselves peaceably, and offer no injury to the people of the United States.

"ART. 8. Trade shall be opened with the said Indian tribes; and they do hereby respectively engage to afford protection to such persons, with their property, as shall be duly licensed to reside among them, for the purpose of trade, and to their agents and servants; but no person shall be permitted to reside at any of their towns or hunting camps, as a trader, who is not furnished with a license for that purpose, under the hand and seal of the superintendent of the department northwest of the Ohio, or such other person as the President of the United States shall authorize to grant such licenses, to the end, that the said Indians may not be imposed on in their trade. And, if any licensed trader shall abuse his privilege by unfair dealing, upon complaint and proof thereof, his license shall be taken from him, and he shall be further punished according to the laws of the United States. And if any person shall intrude himself as a trader, without such license, the said Indians shall take and bring him before the superintendent, or his deputy, to be dealt with according to law; and, to prevent impositions by forged licenses, the said Indians shall at least once a year, give information to the superintendent,

or his deputies, of the names of the traders residing among them.

"ART. 9. Lest the firm peace and friendship now established should be interrupted by the misconduct of individuals, the United States and the said Indian tribes agree that, for injuries done by individuals, on either side, no private revenge or retaliation shall take place; but, instead thereof, complaint shall be made by the party injured, to the other, by the said Indian tribes, or any of them, to the President of the United States, or the superintendent by him appointed; and by the superintendent, or other person appointed by the President, to the principal chiefs of the said Indian tribes, or of the tribe to which the offender belongs, and such prudent measures shall then be pursued, as shall be necessary to preserve the said peace and friendship unbroken, until the Legislature (or great council) of the United States shall make other equitable provision in the case, to the satisfaction of both parties. Should any Indian tribes meditate a war against the United States, or either of them, they do hereby engage to give immediate notice thereof to the general, or officer commanding the troops of the United States, at the nearest post. And should any tribe, with hostile intentions against the United States, or either of them, attempt to pass through their country, they will endeavor to prevent the same, and in like manner give information of such attempt, to the general, or officer commanding, as soon as possible, that all causes of mistrust and suspicion may be avoided between them and the United States. In like manner, the United States shall give notice to the said Indian tribes of any harm that may be meditated against them, or either of them, that shall come to their knowledge,

and do all in their power to hinder and prevent the same, that the friendship between them may be uninterrupted.

"ART. 10. All other treaties heretofore made between the United States and the said Indian tribes, or any of them, since the treaty of 1783, between the United States and Great Britain, that come within the purview of this treaty, shall henceforth cease, and become void.

"In testimony whereof, the said Anthony Wayne, and the sachems and war chiefs of the before mentioned nations and tribes of Indians, have hereunto set their hands and affixed their seals.

"Done at Greenville, in the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio, on the third day of August, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five.

ANTHONY WAYNE."

After the Indians had finished signing the treaty they remained until the distribution of the presents.

In the meantime various speeches were delivered and the calumet of peace passed to those who had not yet smoked of it.

As to the faithfulness of the Indians who signed it let us hear the testimony of Rufus King. "And never after that treaty, to their honor be it remembered, did the Indian nations violate the limits which it established. It was a grand tribute to General Wayne that no chief or warrior who gave him the hand at Greenville ever after 'lifted the hatchet' against the United States. There were malcontents on the Wabash and Lake Michigan who took sides with Tecumseh and the Prophet in the war of 1812, perhaps for good cause, but the tribes and their chiefs sat still." (American Commonwealths—Ohio-p. 262.)

The pledge of security given by this treaty encour-

aged emigration, a hardy population soon settled in the fertile valleys, and gained a foothold which has never since been relinquished, and to-day millions of people live and enjoy the blessings of civilized life where, but a short time since, a few untutored savages dwelt.

The importance of this peace is not measured simply by the amount of land ceded but comprehends also its effect in opening up the Ohio valley for settlement. In fact, viewed in one light, it may be considered the end of the Revolutionary War. It is also true that this was not the last treaty with the northwestern Indian tribes, but measured by results it stands pre-eminent.

Another treaty was held at Greenville, July 22, 1814 by Gen. Wm. H. Harrison and Lewis Cass with the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, Senecas and Miamis. These tribes promised to assist the United States in the war then in progress with Great Britain and her savage allies.

The citizens of Greenville desire a celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the first treaty and the erection of a suitable memorial near the site of its consummation. Accordingly Hon. H. C. Garber introduced the following resolution, which explains itself, in the Ohio Legislature:

H. J. R. No.61

JOINT RESOLUTION

Relative to the Centennial of the Conquest of the Indian Nations.

WHEREAS, The year of 1895 marks the centennial epoch of the conquest of the Indian nations and the establishment of peace in the territory now comprised in the

State of Ohio and adjacent country northwest of the Ohio river; and

WHEREAS, Said conquest was made by the army under command of General Anthony Wayne, a gallant and meritorious soldier in the war of the Revolution, and the Indian Wars, the battle of Fallen Timbers, on the Maumee river, August 20th, 1794, completing the chain of victories, and subduing the Indian tribes; and

WHEREAS, The treaty of peace made on the 3rd day of August, 1795, at Fort Greenville, (built on the site of Greenville, Ohio), by Gen. Wayne, on behalf of the United States, and various Indian nations, occupying the territory northwest of the Ohio river, was of national importance and established peace and permitted the extension of American settlements therein; therefore be it

Resolved, By the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, that steps be taken to properly observe the one hundredth anniversary of this important event in the history of our western country; that the United States Government should erect a suitable memorial structure on the site of Fort Greenville, to perpetuate the memory of General Anthony Wayne and his gallant army, and that our Senators and Representatives in Congress be requested, through the Governor, to secure such a memorial; that to accomplish the intent of this resolution, the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society is hereby authorized and directed to take the necessary steps to secure a suitable centennial celebration at Greenville, Ohio, on August 3rd, 1895, and to obtain, if possible, through Congress such a memorial as will fittingly and appropriately perpetuate the centennial of this important event and those conspicuous in its history; that the Governor of Ohio be authorized to invite on behalf of this

State, the States of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky, which states furnished most of the soldiers in the campaign of 1794, and to send representatives to participate in such celebration, and also the States of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota, which States, with Ohio, comprised the territory northwest of the Ohio river, to send representatives to this centennial, and to invite said States to prepare such tablets or other mementoes for such memorial structure as they may desire.

LEWIS C. LAYLIN,
Speaker of House of Representatives.

ANDREW L. HARRIS,
President of the Senate.

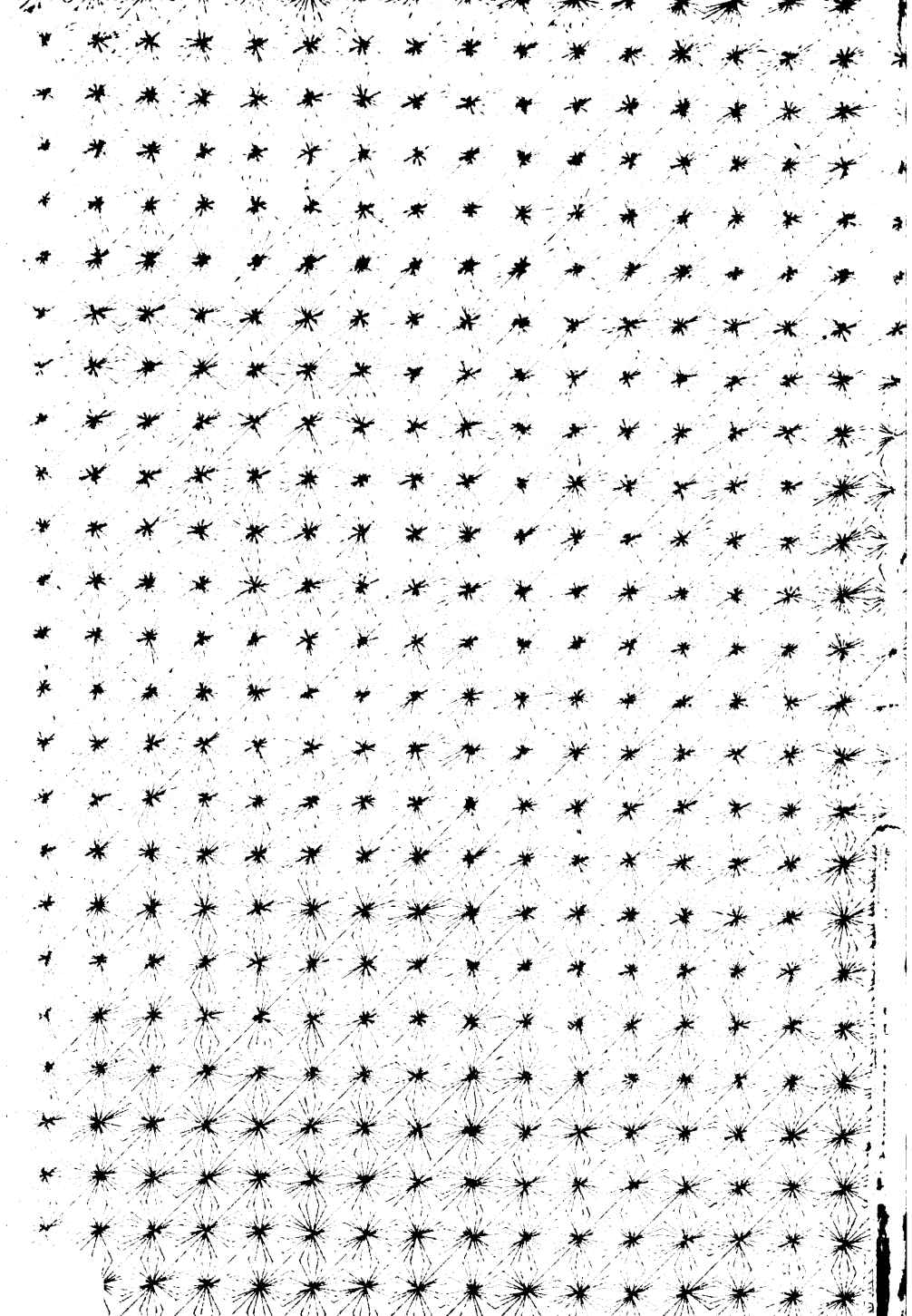
Passed March 22, 1893.

The above matter has since been brought to the attention of Congress, and a bill drafted appropriating fifty thousand dollars for the purpose mentioned has been laid before the house of Representatives by Hon. F. C. Layton and before the Senate by Hon. Jno. Sherman. It has been referred to the Library Committee, and awaits the action of the next session.

The hero of Fallen Timbers lies buried in Pennsylvania. After leaving Greenville he returned to that State and was appointed sole commissioner to treat with the Indians of the Northwest and to take possession of all the British forts in that territory. In the autumn of 1796, after receiving the surrender of Detroit, he embarked for home but was seized with a severe attack of the gout and died at Erie, Penn. Here his remains were interred, but in 1809, his bones were transferred to the family burying ground in the village of Radnor, Penn. Over this grave the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincin-

nati, erected a small marble monument which was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies, July 4th, 1809. The rest of his remains were reinterred within the grounds of the Soldiers and Sailors Home at Erie. A more fitting memorial is desired, and it is to be hoped that Congress will pay due respect to the memory of General Anthony Wayne.

THE END.



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